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FBIS-EEU-94-202 *19 October 1994*

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NOTICE TO READERS: The processing indicators appearing in brackets at the start of each item in this publication have been changed. All indicators now begin with "FBIS" to make the material more easily identifiable in databases. Some also indicate whether the item has been translated from the vernacular or transcribed from English.

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Berisha Speech Praises Outgoing U.S. Ambassador

AU1810132594 Tirana LAJMI I DITES in Albanian 6 Oct 94 pp 1, 2

[Speech by President Sali Berisha at a farewell ceremony for outgoing U.S. Ambassador Ryerson in Tirana on 5 October]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have gathered at this ceremony today to decorate and say fareweil to our distinguished friend, U.S. Ambassador Ryerson. William Ryerson came to Albania at one of the most difficult and crucial periods in its history. He came at precisely the time when the bankrupt communist regime was reducing our people and our country to zero level. Albania was experiencing the formidable catastrophe of one of the most cruel dictatorships in Europe. Hunger, ruin, chaos, and anarchy were the features of 1991. However, it was in that same year that freedom emerged with growing vigor from under the ruins of widespread devastation. This proved that Albanians—the poorest, most isolated, most long-suffering and oppressed people on the continent—had with God's help come to the firm resolve to retaliate against the dictatorship and replace it with freedom and a law-governed state. This resolve ensured that neither they nor Albania would disappear into a sea of oblivion or end up living in a home of solitude. The opposite happened. Your great country, Mr. Ryerson, and your countries, Messrs Ambassadors, responded to our great efforts with a spirit of solidarity that Albanians have never known before. The enormous, direct U.S. support and the direct interest taken by President Bush in the victory of democracy in Albania were extremely important and won the deepest gratitude of Albania and the Albanians, a gratitude that they will feel forever. It was and will remain a historic contribution to the close friendship between our two countries.

For the second time this century, at very crucial moments, the United States, the great country of freedom, stood on the side of Albanians and gave decisive support to their country's fate. It was President Wilson who at the beginning of this century saved Albania from further partition, while some 70 years later President George Bush and the United States helped Albania, while it was sailing adrift between Scylla and Charybdis, to moor in the harbor of democracy. I assure you that Albanians will never forget it.

In his diplomatic career Ambassador Ryerson has experienced numerous events, but among them, I think, two things have made the deepest impression. As a young diplomat in the 1960's, Ryerson had the good fortune to witness the eruption of a sea of enthusiasm and friendly feelings of respect and love by the free Berliners for President John Kennedy, who declared: "I am a Berliner." The great German nation outside the Iron Curtain thus expressed its profound gratitude to your great country for protecting, developing, and guaranteeing the values of freedom against the threat of totalitarianism. Thirty years later, during James Baker's visit to Albania, you experienced the same eruption of human feeling toward your country, this time not in Germany, but on the other side of the Iron Curtain, in Europe's poorest country. This enormous outburst of enthusiasm by half a million Albanians was a sign of their gratitude for the contribution that the country of freedom had made to the collapse of the Iron Curtain. Through this, the Albanians proved that isolation and dictatorship had been unable to tarnish even slightly the respect, love, and friendship that they felt for freedom, the free world, and the United States—the free world's main symbol and promoter. I am sure that the former Secretary of State feels he is an Albanian.

Today, within a relatively short time, Albania's friendship and cooperation with the United States—founded not only on historical roots, but, first and foremost on the great values that our two nations share in common—have progressed and are progressing at a fast pace. Its friendship and profound cooperation with the great country of freedom are of primary importance to Albania as it travels the road of building a law-governed state and market economy, and safeguarding peace and stability. The great and all- round assistance that the U.S. Government, institutions, and taxpayers have given and continue to give Albania, President Bill Clinton's continued and particular interest in the consolidation of democracy in Albania, and the development of our friendship, cooperation, and relations are of special importance to us. It is a great encouragement on our difficult but hopeful road of building a future different from the past, a better one.

Mr. Ryerson, your assignment as U.S. Ambassador to Albania is now coming to an end, and you will be returning home to yo ir country. During your long career you have held numerous positions in various countries. However, I think that in Albania you have been a real ambassador and a true emissary. This is because you are the first U.S. ambassador to Albania in the history of our state relations, and also because you have worked selflessly and with missionary devotion to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples and countries. I am therefore totally convinced that you are leaving Albania happy to have fulfilled your mission. You will always remain a true friend of Albania and the Albanians, and more than that—a cherished friend, because to Albanians a friend in need is a worthier and even more honored friend.

Ambassador Ryerson is a great friend of the Albanian people, and I say this not simply out of geniality. No, we are ordinary, unassuming people. However, as far as friendship is concerned, I think that a great friend is one who himself has as many friends as possible. Bill Ryerson has done that rare thing of succeeding to make friends with an entire people. Therefore, for every Albanian he will be a great friend of Albania. It is for this reason that I have chosen for you, on the occasion of your leaving Albania, the Order of the Flag, which—next

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to the Albanian language that you have mastered so admirably—is the most beloved and precious symbol to all Albanians.

God bless you, your family, your country, and the friendship between our two countries.

Arbnori Meets Bundestag Deputy, Hails German Aid

AU1910074294 Tirana ATSh Domestic News Bulletin in Albanian 2 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] People's Assembly Chairman Pjeter Arbnori on 1 October held a special meeting to receive German Bundestag Deputy Roschenbach, who is head of the Bundestag's German-Albanian Friendship Group.

Mr. Arbnori began by praising highly Mr. Roschenbach's role in strengthening relations between Albania and Germany. "We are pleased," he said, "to see Germany's serious commitment to the strengthening of our relations, which is already manifested in its economic, political, and legal assistance." Mr. Arbnori thanked Mr. Roschenbach for his visit to Kosovo and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] and for the support that he has given and continues to give to the just cause of the Kosovo people. Referring to this problem, Arbnori said that the Kosovo question should be resolved through negotiations, but not negotiations where one side speaks in the common language and the other in the language of guns. "We are pleased," he said, "that all the political parties in Germany are taking a correct stand toward the Kosovo issue and the Albanian question in general."

Mr. Arbnori spoke about Albania's relations with Greece and Macedonia and about the Albanian state's constructive stand toward those relations. He also informed the German guest about the work being done by the People's Assembly to pass a series of important laws and complete the draft constitution.

After expressing gratitude for the reception, Mr. Roschenbach spoke of his extremely bitter impressions of the rights of Albanians in Kosovo following his visit there. "Belgrade," he said, "shows no sign whatsoever of any willingness to change the situation. Concerning relations with Greece, Mr. Roschenbach said it was regrettable that Greece, because of the deterioration of Albanian- Greek relations, was blocking the economic aid granted to Albania by the European Community. Mr. Roschenbach said that alongside the strengthening of relations between Germany and Albania, nongovernmental relations also needed to be promoted between the institutions, bodies, and associations of the two countries.

The cordial and friendly meeting was attended by legislative Deputy Skender Gjinushi, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Albania, and Mr. Claus Vollers, German ambassador to Albania.

Selami Congratulates FRG's Kohl, Waigel

AU1810121194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian Democratic Party Chairman Eduard Selami today sent the following greeting telegram to Messrs. Helmut Kohl and Theo Waigel, leaders of the winning coalition in yesterday's German national elections:

Honorable gentlemen, I congratulate you on your victory in the parliamentary elections held in Germany yesterday. We are convinced that the new four-year mandate that the German people have given you will further the progress of unified Germany and an united Europe.

Romanian Ambassador Views Bilateral Relations

AU1810131594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 94

[Report by Reis Cico]

[FBIS Translated Text] Traditional relations with Albania are very good, Gheorghe Micu, Romanian ambassador in Tirana, declared today during a news conference he gave at one of the halls of the Romanian Embassy.

Talking about bilateral relations, Mr. Micu assessed President Berisha's visit to Romania to be very successful, stating that this visit and the agreements signed in Bucharest are another important step in the development of our relations. The Romanian ambassador further pointed out that the possibilities for bilateral cooperation are great. The visits by Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi to Romania and President Iliescu to Tirana will give a further impetus and expand our bilateral relations, Mr. Micu said.

Romania's foreign policy was one of the main topics discussed at the news conference by Mr. Micu. Relations with the United States and the major European institutions are priorities of the Romanian foreign policy, he said. In this framework, Ambassador Micu particularly dwelt on the meeting that Romanian President Iliescu held with President Clinton in the United States, which was the first top official contact after the 1989 democratic changes in Romania.

He further focused on relations with neighbors, which he considered to be very important. In this context, he praised the Black Sea initiative.

Another topic, which Ambassador Micu discussed at length, was the Romanian economy. Giving figures and facts, he illustrated the information on privatization, general and agricultural production, etc. Mr. Micu stated that current export figures are higher than the import ones in Romania.

Later, the Romanian ambassador answered reporters' questions.

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Archbishop Complains About Residence Restrictions

NC1810180794 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1600 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Albania's Orthodox Archbishop Anastasios met CSCE Commissioner on Human Rights Max van der Stoel in Tirana yesterday and presented him with a memorandum. In his memorandum, Archbishop Anastasios analyzes in detail the issue that has arisen because of Paragraph 4 of Article 7 of Albania's draft constitution, which requires that leaders of religious minorities have 20 years of uninterrupted residence in Albania, be of Albanian nationality, and have been born in Albania. Archbishop Anastasios also presented the CSCE commissioner with the relevant memorandum of the Orthodox Church, which has also been presented to President Sali Berisha.

The archbishop's memorandum stresses that it is obvious that the above requirement in Albania's draft constitution has the exclusive aim of hurting the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Albania, which is already facing particular conditions and difficulties. [passage omitted]

Greek Police Mistreat, Expel Migrant Workers

AU1810150394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On 14 October 1994, seven Albanian refugees, maltreated by the Greek police, were deported at the border crossing point of Kakavije. In their testimonies, among other things, Xhevat Isufi, Agron Hoxha, Hasan Rapa, Arben Kovaci, and Maksim Shehu reported the following:

On 13 October 1994, we left Konispol to find work in Greece. We were stopped by Greek soldiers in Igoumenitsa. After stripping us, they dragged us along by our hair, threw us into a river and told us: What the hell do you need in Greece? We will kill you! Go back to Albania, to Sali Berisha! Overthrow him! Here are some spades: Take them and dig your own graves! Down with America! They hit us with bayonets and kicked us in the chest. They extinguished cigarette ends on our bodies and faces. Out of the group, Xhevat Isufi was maltreated the worst. He had bruises all over his body. This lasted for approximately four hours. We were then bundled into cars, where we were further maltreated by soldiers. Later they said: After beating up a friend of us from the village of Bolene, they stripped him and threw him into a river, naked as he was, as if to drown him, then cut off his hair and stuffed it into his mouth. He is not with us. He went to Vlore. These were testimonies by seven Albanian deportees abused by the Greek police.

Newspaper Provides Greek Minority Facts, Figures

AU1910074394 Tirana LAJMI I DITES in Albanian 4 Oct 94 p 1

[Report by Aleksander Milo: "The Greek Minority in Albania: Facts and Figures"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Greek minority constitutes less than 2 percent of the total population of the Republic of Albania. Six deputies in the Albanian legislature, one minister, and one vice minister belong to the Greek minority. There are also Greek- speaking ambassadors representing Albania in various countries, high justice officials, and officials in the central state administration. In local state bodies, the Greek minority is represented by 13 commune chairmen, 159 members of commune councils, 53 members of district councils, and 82 members of municipality councils. The interests of this minority are directly expressed and protected also by a number of organizations, especially "Omonia" and the "Human Rights Union" party, which carry on their activities freely.

For the Greek minority, there are 87 eight-year schools, almost one for every village, where 4,000 pupils are taught by 511 teachers. There are also three secondary vocational schools with 107 pupils, one Greek secondary teacher training school, and a Greek language faculty at the "Eqerem Cabej" University of Gjirokaster. The number of subjects taught in the Greek language has increased, as has the number of classes, Greek minority children being taught in many cases regardless of the normal minimum number of pupils to a class. In Gjirokaster alone, out of 227 Greek classes, 87 have just one to three pupils each, 97 have four to nine, and 43 have 10 pupils each.

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Indzhova Discusses Labor Unrest at Plants

AU1810184094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, Prime Minister Reneta Indzhova met Konstantin Trenchev, leader of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, and leaders of the Podkrepa-affiliated Metalworkers Federation at their request.

Afterwards, Trenchev told journalists that, in his view, Mrs. Indzhova was disposed toward settling the problem of the tension at the Kremikovtsi Metalworking Plant and the Pirdop Metals Plant, and that the issue would be submitted for discussion at the meeting of the Council of Ministers on Thursday 20 October. At a Podkrepa news conference, it was said that the results of the talks with the government and the decisions that the new cabinet will adopt will determine whether the problems at the two plants will culminate in a strike.

Vasilev, Petkov Agree To Resume Social Dialogue

AU1810184394 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev met with Krustyu Petkov, president of the KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria]. After the meeting, Professor Petkov said that the tripartite dialogue on social issues would be resumed in the very near future. At the start of the meeting, they discussed how and when the tripartite dialogue could be resumed. Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev asked the KNSB leader for detailed figures and breakdowns on the reasonable compensation payments that the KNSB wants.

Later on, Deputy Prime Minister Vasilev also discussed the possibilities for reestablishing social dialogue with Podkrepa leader Konstantin Trenchev.

Videnov Wants More Representative Electoral Body

AU1810150494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 94

[Report by Liliyana Yancheva]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the moment the Executive Bureau of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is in session.

At today's BSP regular news briefing Zhan Videnov declared that the Socialists will support the principle of continuity in connection with the membership of the Central Electoral Commission. The BSP chairman also expressed the view that the ceiling should be lowered to allow extraparliamentary forces to be represented on the Central Electoral Commission.

In response to a question, Zhan Videnov said that the Socialists will not make an assessment of the caretaker government because the president is responsible for it.

At the end of today's news conference BSP Executive Bureau member Nikolay Dobrev, commented on the ambitious task of combating crime that the president had assigned to the cabinet, saying that he very much doubted whether it could actually be achieved.

Privatization Agency Elects New Chairman

AU1810185794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At its regular meeting today, the Supervisory Board of the Privatization Agency elected Lilyana Piperkova, who was appointed a member of the board from the National Assembly's quota and is a lawyer by training, as chairman.

Reneta Indzhova, prime minister of the caretaker government, is taking unpaid official leave, according to the Labor Code, from her post of executive director of the Privatization Agency. During her term of office as caretaker prime minister, her duties will be shared by the two deputy executive directors, Dimitur Tsonev and Katya Georgieva.

Asen Manov Reelected Constitutional Court Head

AU1810185894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In a secret ballot held today, the members of the Constitutional Court reelected Asen Manov as the court's president.

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Controversial Citizenship Law Upheld by Court

95CH0001A Prague PROGNOSIS in English 28 Sep 94 p 6

[Article by Randall Lyman: "Trials and Tribulations"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Czech Constitutional Court denied last week a request by leftist Parliament deputies that parts of the 1993 Czech citizenship law, which is under fire from human rights activists for denying many Romanies basic rights such as health care and the vote, be amended or abolished.

Decisions of the Constitutional Court may not be appealed, so from the Czech legal point of view, the issue is closed. That doesn't mean, however, that the battle to change the law is over. It's now going international.

A group of 42 deputies from the Left Bloc (LB), Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) and other opposition parties turned to the court earlier this year, arguing that several key provisions of the law violated the Czech Constitution, the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The court disagreed. In its Sept. 13 decision, it described some of the deputies' arguments as "insubstantial and speculative." Nine of the court's 11 justices voted with the majority. Only Vladimir Cermak and Pavel Varvarovsky dissented.

LB vice chair Jaroslav Ortman, who headed the deputy group, said that even though the ruling could not be overturned, it might still be possible to seek legislative amendments to the law through Parliament's Petitions, Human Rights and Minorities Committee, of which he is a member.

"For me it's sufficient that two...justices exercised their right to deliver dissenting opinions," Ortman said, adding that he did not plan to raise the matter before international human rights groups.

He may not need to. No less than four such organizations are already working to determine whether the law violates international human rights agreements the Czech Republic has signed: the Council of Europe (CE), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (HCA), and even the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Spokespersons for the organizations generally agreed it would be premature to draw conclusions at this time, but their initial impressions were that the matter definitely deserved serious attention.

The law was scheduled for discussion at a Sept. 20-22 conference in Warsaw, organized by the CSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights to review the situation of Romanies within its 52 member countries.

One participant, Erika Schlager of the U.S. Congress' joint Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, said last week she would present there a 30-page report by her commission on the Czech Republic.

The commission devoted "considerable discussion" to the law, she said. "Basically, our report concludes that the Czech citizenship law is inconsistent with international human rights standards."

Meanwhile, the Legal Affairs Committee of the CE's Parliamentary Assembly had intended to take up the law at its Sept. 11 meeting in Paris, but because of time constraints had to postpone discussion until the first week of October.

Clerk of the Assembly Heiner Kleber declined to speculate on what specific action the committee might recommend, but noted that the so-called "488 procedure" was one possibility. The procedure takes its name from Order 488, which instructs the assembly to monitor how well the CE's new East European members fulfill, on a case-by-case basis, certain commitments they make or expectations the assembly has of them as a condition of admission.

The assembly reviews a new member's progress every six months "until it is certain that all commitments are being completely respected," Kleber said.

Other countries currently being monitored are Slovakia, Estonia, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Romania. Order 488 was adopted on June 29, 1993, to overcome Hungarian objections to admitting Slovakia as a CE member. Hungary, which as a result of the order decided to abstain in the final vote on admission, had charged Slovakia with violating the civil rights of its 600,000-strong Hungarian minority.

The Prague-based International Secretariat of the HCA supported in July a request for action submitted to the CE by Czech human rights activists. It was also planning to send Romany advocates to the Warsaw conference.

The United Nations may be getting into the picture as well, since requirements for Czech citizenship contained in the new law have managed to leave some 50,000 to 100,000 former citizens of Czechoslovakia, almost all of them ethnic Romanies and Slovaks, without any citizenship at all in the wake of Czechoslovakia's split on Jan. 1, 1993.

"The UNHCR has a role to play where stateless people are involved," said Daisy Dell, head of the UNHCR's Prague office. She added that "At this stage we are just monitoring the situation to see how it develops."

It was the constitutionality of these very requirements that the Czech opposition deputies challenged, since they apply only to people who are not ethnic Czechs. The deputies also challenged a provision that permits the Interior Ministry to waive the requirements at its discretion.

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Among the requirements for Czech citizenship is a clean criminal record for the past five years—called the "Romany clause" because, in view of the relatively high crime rate among Romanies, thousands of them were de facto denied automatic citizenship even if they were born on the territory of the Czech Republic and had never left the country. Ethnic Czechs born in the Czech Republic had no such requirement.

According to the Constitutional Court, however, the requirements are "proportionate, they put relations to the Czech Republic on a sufficiently objective basis, and are in no way discriminatory."

Responding to the objection that the waiver provision provided no guidelines or oversight for the Interior Ministry, the court found the ministry to be sufficiently answerable both to Parliament and to the rest of the Cabinet.

Interior Ministry spokeswoman Beata Bernikova said the ministry, which drafted the law, was pleased by the court's verdict, but that any comment on the international developments at present would be "speculation."

Border Police Propose Tougher Entry Requirements

95CH0002B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 4 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by Emma McClune: "Border Limits on Western Freedom"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The days when Americans and others could drift in and out of the Czech Republic with a wave of the passport will end if the Czech border police's plans are realized.

Under a proposal put forward by the police, "citizens of states for which there is currently no visa requirement" will be asked to show that they have enough money to take care of themselves during their stay in the Czech Republic and pay for their return home.

The border police, part of the Czech National Police, can also require the visitor to have an invitation from a Czech citizen. This invitation will include details about the length of time for which the guest is invited and confirm that the host will take care of him or her.

The proposals will affect all European nationals and American citizens who do not now need a visa to enter the country.

Although there will still be no visa requirement, more power will be given to border police, who are likely to be empowered to deny access even if the current proposals are rejected by the government.

Miroslav Bornik, head of the Prague division of the state police, sees the proposals as a way to lower the crime rate in the Czech Republic, which he believes is intrinsically bound up with the increasing number of foreigners entering and residing in Prague.

"Most pickpocketers are foreigners," Bornik said, but offered no data regarding arrests or reported thefts to back up his claim.

"At the moment, there is insufficient means to control (the illegal foreign resident population)," he said.

Bornik is mainly concerned about illegal immigration by citizens of former Eastern bloc countries, but the new legislation, if passed, will affect Western visitors to the country as well as the Romanians, Slovaks and Bulgarians who Bornik claimed "join up with Czech Gypsies, stay in their homes and form pickpocketing gangs."

Sudeten German Association Calls For Restitution

95CH0001B Prague PROGNOSIS in English 28 Sep 94 p 8

[Article by Claude Cahn: "Expelled Germans Swinging Back at Czech Government"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A month before Germany's Oct. 16 elections, some key candidates from the front-running Free Democrats coalition were threatening to block the Czech Republic's entry into Western organizations like the European Union unless the Czechs started dealing with the seizure of property from Sudeten Germans nearly 50 years ago.

"Prague will have to resolve in one way or another the question of the return of property confiscated from the Sudeten Germans after the war," said German Parliament deputy Egon Juttner, in a Sept. 17 interview with the Russian newspaper SEGODNYA. "If not, we will be against (its) admission to NATO and the EU."

Problems stemming from the Czech Republic's post-World War II "Benes decrees," which governed the expulsion of 2.5 million Germans from the "Sudetenland" in the country's northern reaches, have strained Czech-German relations since 1990. Though Juttner's comments don't reflect official German policy—Defense Minister Volker Ruhe had said two days previously that the Visegrad Four countries (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary) should be quickly integrated into NATO—they do illustrate how much political sway the former Sudetens still have in Germany.

The issue is sensitive enough that Czechs and Germans long ago postponed concrete negotiations on their several unresolved disputes—including the compensation of Czech victims of Nazism—until after German elections. In the meantime, many politicians are trying to attract voters who feel that Germany has been apologetic for Adolf Hitler long enough.

"What we would like," Juttner said, "is for the Czechs to admit their error just as the Germans have learned to."

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Unlike in Poland, Czechoslovakia's punitive postwar expulsion of Germans was carried out by a democratically elected government. Furthermore, it had near-unanimous support among Czechs, who remembered the Sudetens' sense of cultural superiority, how the majority of them had voted for pro-Hitler nationalist parties, and how their agitation led to the disastrous 1938 Munich Agreement, in which the Allies gave the Nazis permission to seize the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia.

After the expulsion, most of the transplanted Germans wound up in Saxony, Thuringia and Bavaria. At its beginning, one in every five citizens of the new Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) was a newly arrived German from Czechoslovakia, Pomerania and Silesia (now lying in Polish territory), and points farther east. The Sudetens settled mainly in Bavaria, where they were accepted as "Schirmherrschaft" (roughly, "shielding dominion")—the implication being that, though their cultural ties were elsewhere, they would for the time being be represented by Bavaria.

Franz Joseph Strauss, a Bavarian politician in the Christian Social Union (CSU), called the Sudeten Germans "the fourth tribe of Bavaria." They make up a significant voting bloc in his party, which is the Bavarian version of Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU).

In 1949, following the end of the postwar crisis in Germany, the Sudeten Germans founded the Sudeten Landsmannschaft, an organization that, in the words of central committee member Wolfgang Egerter, "unifies Sudeten Germans and preserves their cultural traditions."

For 40 years, the Landsmannschafters had to be content with preserving their folk culture, dances, cooking and costumes, and marching about by torchlight under the flags of their particular villages, all within the quiet confines of comfortable Bavaria. Czechoslovakia lay over the great divide and the entire focus of West German politics with respect to the East became East Germany. All other issues had to play second fiddle to the slow and careful set of policies that was to one day bring the two Germanies back together.

By the late 1980s most West Germans had forgotten about even East Germany. Germany was a joyously West European consumer society. The Sudetens were out of the picture almost entirely. But then 1989 happened.

The Landsmannschaft formed the great conservative heart of Germany's most conservative party, the CSU, and as such, they never let the "homeland" issue slip entirely out of view. German conservative governments, then as now, lived in fear of losing votes to right-radical parties. So when the collapse of communism reopened long-buried historical disputes, the government soon felt pressure from the "Vertriebene"—the German term for expelled people, their spouses and even their children.

In his new book "In Europe's Name," Timothy Garton Ash quotes Polish dissident Bronislaw Geremek's recollection of his first post-revolution conversation with Chancellor Kohl. "The chancellor tried to calm my fears concerning, among other things, the German position on the frontiers issue," Geremek said. "I have the impression that he spoke sincerely. But when I asked him if I could make public the substance of our conversation, he replied that if I did that he would immediately deny it. The justification given for this position was the realities of German politics."

The realities of post-revolution Czechoslovak politics were infused with a sense of idealism and of righting historical wrongs. Vaclav Havel made a public apology to the Sudeten Germans in 1989, prior to becoming president, and he frequently condemned the concept of collective guilt.

But those conciliatory sentiments rang hollow in Sudeten ears when the Czechoslovak government chose 1948 as the cutoff date for returning nationalized property to private citizens. For the first two years of his presidency, Havel's office was swamped with mail pressing claims for restitution of lost farms, houses and factories. The CSU got into the act, threatening to block the removal of the Munich Agreement from German law unless Sudetens were eligible for restitution proceedings (the agreement was eventually declared illegal in 1992).

But the government of Premier Vaclav Klaus, which always favored the quickest possible restitution process, has stood firm on the 1948 date. The only exception has been the selective restitution of artifacts to the Jewish community, which was almost obliterated during World War II.

Meanwhile the Landsmannschaft's tactics have alienated many in both countries. Forty years of wandering in the Bavarian desert has made the Sudeten Germans into something of an anachronism. The word "tribe" is too liberally sprinkled in their vocabulary, they condemn collective guilt while asking to be dealt with collectively, and they passionately monitor the goings-on in Sudeten villages in such unlikely places as Romania, Brazil, Canada, Paraguay and New Zealand.

These tendencies have earned the Sudetens scorn and criticism from the mainstream German press. In an interview in the May 23 issue of DER SPIEGEL, Peter Becher, historian and son of a "Vertrieben," said, "Most of the leading representatives of the expelled have a simplified picture of the past; they see only their own fate. But there were countless Jewish and Czech citizens who suffered under the Germans. Why don't the Sudetens officially apologize the way Vaclav Havel on the opposite side has for his country's actions?"

Public perceptions of the Landsmannschaft also suffer from the fact that the Sudetenland is a favorite theme of fascist periodicals. Young fascists with no ties to the Czech Republic often show up at Sudeten rallies, demanding retribution.

"The expulsion triggered a deep trauma that must be worked out," Becher said. "But meanwhile almost 50

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years have passed and a new generation has grown to be adults. If one also proposes to young people that they should openly orient themselves around the trauma of an expulsion that they themselves have not lived through, one becomes ever more anachronistic."

Landsmannschaft leader Egerter denied any responsibility for attracting young fascists. "We are a supra-party organization and have no affiliations with extremists," he insisted. "In this sense, we stand in the middle. There is no border question and we can't stop the DVU (DEUTSCHES VOLKS UNION) or the REPUBLIKANER from writing about it."

After butting their heads against the restitution wall, the Sudetens have focused their energies on having the Czech government repeal the Benes decrees, which provided the legal basis of the expulsion. Klaus has refused to budge, saying such a move would undermine the foundation of Czech law.

"Germans and Czechs have centuries of good relations in their past," Egerter said. "That was spoiled by a decade of fanaticism. We lived together in a shared homeland. The Landsmannschaft now seeks good neighborly relations next to the Czechs and perhaps, in the future, with the Czechs."

Party's Defense Minister Nomination Examined

95CH0002A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 4 Oct 94 p 15

[Article by Daniel Kumermann, editor on the foreign desk at LIDOVE NOVINY: "Party Has Its Own Reasons for Sacking Defense Minister"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Like party, like minister. Like career, like end.

Anyone who followed the national news last week knows that these words can only refer to the bizarre and abrupt conclusion to the political career of Antonin Baudys, who was removed from his post as defense minister September 20.

"Like party, like minister": Baudys did not fully represent his political party, the Christian Democratic Union-Czech People's Party (KDU-CSL). The prewar reputation of what was then called the People's Party was so strong that during the Nazi occupation, President Edvard Benes picked its founder and leader, Jan Sramek, a Roman Catholic cleric, to head the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London.

After the communist takeover, however, the People's Party became one of the regime's democratic stooges. Together with the socialists, the party was kept alive to provide the impression of a multiparty democracy, and at the same time to applaud loudly every single step of the regime.

After the communists fell in 1989, the party changed its leadership but refused to acknowledge that at least some of its members might bear at least some responsibility for at least some of the crimes committed over the previous 40 years. In fact, the party came up with the opposite approach—it undertook a staunch, unforgiving stand and called for punishment and a settling of accounts.

The move was a bet on the inherent conservatism of the population. The wager paid off in 1992, when the party kept its seats in parliament and was invited to join the ruling coalition—this time not with the communists, but with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus and his Civic Democratic Party (ODS).

The KDU-CSL's political ritual dances and changes of color have made it seem unable to produce a single politician of any—let's say European—standard. Rather, it has become a bottomless source of very strange political personalities. These have ranged from sleazy and evasive characters to today's ever-smiling and simplistic Baudys. Despits its obvious lack of talented individuals, the party has always insisted on holding important posts in the government.

Baudys cannot be held personally responsible for recent Defense Ministry scandals, such as the shots fired aboard his official plane and the shoplifting by one of his generals in a Swedish department store. Yet in the face of controversy, Baudys has not behaved like a responsible democratic politician. It seems quite plausible that he is not "guilty" of breaking any rules, but he did not grasp how his job required him to handle matters. This view could be supported by less significant but still vaguely scandalous moments in his earlier career.

For one, there was the time he met the pope while serving in his previous governmental position. He simply forgot protocol, dropping his country's interests as he fell to his knees and kissed the pope's ring like any ordinary pilgrim. Another famous example is his sharpshooting, literally, in his office and everywhere else. Given such a background, it was hard to be surprised last winter when he came up with his own peace plan for Bosnia, held a press conference to announce it, and then could not understand why he was so harshly reprimanded for doing so.

Looking at the end of his career, which came last week, is equally weird viewed from the prism of a modern democracy. His fall did not occur at a time when he was being disruptive, but instead during a period of relatively appropriate behavior (this was at least partly due to the fact that he was ill and staying at home). Overnight, the KDU-CSL central committee suddenly seemed to have realized what a liability Baudys had become and decided not to cope with him any longer. The coalition agreement, according to which the ministries are distributed, does give the committee the right to fire him. The timing, however, raised more questions than it answered.

The explanation on which most observers and analysts agree connects the decision with the rather shaky position of Josef Lux, deputy prime minister, minister of

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agriculture and head of the KDU-CSL. It was only recently that the government accepted Lux's agricultural program—and not without much grumbling and hesitation. Practically the same day that Baudys was sacked, the parliamentary committee on agriculture passed a measure demanding Lux's resignation—with the deciding vote cast by a deputy in the ruling coalition.

This left the scent of an obvious deal: Baudys's head for that of Lux. The only question is whether Baudys's tenure at the Defense Ministry had been intentionally preserved for just such a use, or whether he had simply come in handy in a time of need.

Baudys himself provided further proof of the equation "simplistic career, simplistic end" by not acknowledging reality until the last moment. Not only that, but he attempted a feeble counterattack by alleging that there had been insufficient contributions to the party's kitty (thus hinting at an obvious source of future scandals).

Another big unknown in the whole affair is the new defense minister, Vilem Holan. His background as a mathematician should point to a gift of logic and structural thinking. This logical assumption can be, however, easily countered by the case of minister without portfolio Igor Nemec, whose mathematical background did not provide even minimal political reason. Holan's current position as a department head in the Foreign Ministry hints at ability in international dealings. On the other hand, it does not say anything about him being ready for the jungle of coalition politics.

Holan's major problem stems from what seems to be a newly established tradition—when the KDU-CSL changes ministers, it looks for improved performance at the outset but not down the road. The new man at the defense helm now has 100 days to prove himself, a democratic tradition we Czechs shall most probably maintain. The lesson taught by the now-closed case of Minister Baudys is less optimistic. It reveals that under the democratic surface of our political scene, there still flows precious little democratic spirit. Do any of our politicians realize this?

Commentaries on Impact of German Elections

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[FBIS Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech and Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 17 October publish commentaries on the German parliamentary election, both of which include passages considering the implications of the outcome of the election for the Czech Republic [CR].

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 17 October on page 6 carries a 500-word Emilia Harantova commentary entitled "Kohl Won, Though by Only a Close Margin." In the commentator's opinion, "for us and the rest of Europe, Kohl's victory is the better of two alternatives. The other alternative would have been a coalition between the Social Democratic Party [SPD] and the Greens, a party that, in view of the rotation principle, changes its chairman every year and is toying with the idea of the FRG's withdrawal from NATO. The consequences would make themselves felt in many areas, starting with the deployment of the Bundeswehr abroad and ending, possibly, with our admission to NATO, for which support by the FRG is of key significance. A government composed of the Greens and the SPD would have also been much more discordant and, hence, unstable because it would encompass a much broader spectrum of views and because, frequently, it really could depend on the votes of Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] deputies. At a time when Americans are pulling out of Europe and with incalculable Russia in the east, Kohl's victory thus brought relief to all neighbors and partners of Germany."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Cz[illegible]n 17 October on page 1 carries a 600-word commen[illegible]ry by Adam Cerny and Jiri Hanak entitled "Stalemate Without a Change." Looking at the possible impact of the German election results on the Czech Republic, the commentators write: "What does the German election mean for the Czech Republic? The first answer is: Nothing. The second is: A lot. Why? The FRG will remain a trustworthy, stable, and calculable parliamentary democracy. It will remain a country strongly oriented toward Europe that prefers the speedy admission of qualified candidates into the European Union and NATO, of which Germany is the natural and most influential advocate.

"Homework remains to be done as regards relations between Czechs and Germans. In the months before the election, we repeatedly heard that sensitive issues must be shelved until after 16 October. The time has now come to tackle them. Both states must think about the future. It is in the interest of both Prague and Bonn that their legs no longer be shackled by the past."

Attitudes of Young Army Conscripts Characterized

95CH0004A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 4 Oct 94 pp 8a-9a

[Article by Gary Byrd: "Your're in the Armada Now"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Several soldiers sit around a wooden table playing cards in an army barracks in Prague. A bolt of lightning cracks the sky, followed by a deafening crash of thunder. A few of the men interrupt their game to go to the window and watch the downpour. One man still at the table lights a cigarette and watches the smoke drift slowly upward. Their official duties having been completed by midafternoon, the soldiers are now facing a long night with nothing to do.

Perhaps they'll sit on their bunks and swap exaggerated stories of their childhoods. Maybe they'll go out for a beer. They'd probably be playing soccer if it weren't for the rain.

The young men, most of them fresh out of high school, turn away from the fogged window and sit down again at

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the makeshift card table. One of them deals another round of cards. Tonight, time is the only thing these soldiers have to kill.

You see them everywhere in Prague—on the streets, in the metros, waiting at bus stops—young men in mismatched shades of green, the soldiers of the Ceska armada. Military service here is compulsory, a common practice across Europe. Under the communist regime, conscripts served two years in the army—or, more rarely, two and a half years in civil service. After 1989, the draft remained, but in the spirit of post-revolution euphoria, parliament passed a law making it easier for conscientious objectors to perform alternative service.

The division of the army in 1993 was as peaceful as the rest of the split of Czechoslovakia. Career soldiers were offered the choice of which army they wished to serve in, while recruits simply finished off their hitches wherever they were stationed.

After 1989, the length of military service was shortened from two years to 18 months and, in October 1993, to 12 months. Nevertheless, many candidates for conscription in this country are exploring every possible avenue to avoid being drafted.

Perhaps this widespread distaste for the army stems from having lived in a country that was under the thumb of a foreign military presence for so long. Or maybe it's because nowadays, young men would rather enter the work force than the armed forces. But even though many people can spend a long evening enthusiastically criticizing the army—how much they hated it, or how much they want to avoid it—they usually concede that it is necessary to have one. In a public opinion survey carried out in 1991, almost 60 percent of respondents said the military lacked "high morals and discipline." Nevertheless, the poll showed that 83 percent believed the army was an important and essential institution.

"The military is absolutely necessary because it develops a sense of responsibility," says Slavomir Baberad, who served in 1978.

Back then, Baberad says, he thought the army was a complete waste of time. Now he feels that in an emergency situation, the skills he learned in the military would be useful.

Others disagree.

"Before you go into the army, you should spit your brain out onto a little plate and put it into the refrigerator until you come back home, because otherwise it'll turn green," advises Vojta Saman, who recently finished his military service. "You become stupid there. You're not supposed to think."

Saman believes the year he spent in the army was a total loss. He says the government spent a lot of money teaching him useless skills, and that he—like the other conscripts—spent much of his time drinking, smoking and expanding his vocabulary of obscenities. Nevertheless, he did his duty, as do most others when they are called.

"My country asked me to come to the army and I came," says Jifi, a new conscript who doesn't wish to be further identified. "It's a waste of time, but I have no choice. I can work in a hospital, go to jail, or go to the army. The army is the easiest."

Most young men are drafted into the army at the age of 18, after they have completed secondary school. For those who go on to university, military service can be postponed until after graduation. But many men claim that a year taken out of their lives at that crucial point disrupts their career plans, particularly at a time when the country needs college graduates in the private sector.

Their rationalization is falling on deaf ears.

"No other country will protect the Czech Republic unless we show the principal effort," says Defense Ministry spokesman Capt. Oldrich Holecek. "We must have conscription."

But at the same time that the army is insisting the draft is necessary, a dwindling defense budget is forcing the military to call on fewer people to serve. As they prepare for the future, the Czech military's top brass must find ways to modernize and reorganize while reducing manpower to a fraction of its former size.

When Baberad recently went back to visit the base he'd called home, "it was like a ghost town," he recalls. "There were 4,000 people stationed there when I served. Now there are 800."

To cut costs, the army has slashed its number of soldiers almost in half, from 160,000 in 1992 to 82,000 today. Of these, 44,000 are conscripts and the rest are career soldiers. By 1996, the military will trim another 17,000, mainly from the ranks of the conscripted.

This would seem to be good news for the many young men who would gladly forgo their military stint. But even though the army must reduce personnel, it has no plans to eliminate conscription. The reason, again, is money.

"It's much cheaper to have conscripts than to pay a professional army of career soldiers," says Holecek. Last October, professional soldiers were given a 24-percent pay raise, but draftees had no such luck.

In addition to a small monthly stipend, the army provides conscripts with the essentials: clothing, shelter and food. But even these modest expenses are straining the defense budget, which hovers around 23 billion Kc ($792 million). The Defense Ministry negotiated with other government ministries to raise its budget this year, but still has barely enough to keep up with inflation.

This budget crunch, coupled with the loss of the military court system, abolished by parliament late last year,

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means that many Czechs who want to avoid the army are falling through the cracks—at least for the time being.

Without its military courts, the army's efforts to prosecute draft dodgers are hampered. Trials must now be carried out in the state courts, which means additional miles of red tape. And the arduous detective work needed to track down evaders in the first place costs money the Defense Ministry just doesn't have.

Officials say that those who avoid conscription should be more harshly punished. Under the law, evasion of military duty carries up to a three-year period sentence.

By the end of 1993, more than 40,000 men had opted not to serve in the army and petitioned instead for civil service. Because of the increase in applications, many are placed on a list to be called later. Currently the wait is two years. However, a sizable number of these draft refusers simply don't show up when called for alternative service—a practice that is causing increasing concern.

The debate over these "no-shows" heated up last month when certain Defense Ministry officials tried to stiffen the penalties for persons evading civil-service duties. If a man is called for civil service and fails to report by the second request, they argued, he should immediately be drafted into the army. In the end, the ministry's proposal was rejected. The civil service committee decides which conscripts will enter the civil service, and once the decision is made, it should not be reversed, according to Brig. Gen. Jifi Nekvasil, chief of General Staff.

Even though the length of time required for civil service was cut from 27 to 18 months, it is not generally seen as an attractive alternative to the military. It is still 6 months longer than a hitch in the army. It still interrupts a young man's education or career. And civil servers aren't provided with housing, clothing and other necessities, so it is hard for them to live on their salaries, which are considerably lower than average. In addition, working at menial jobs in hospitals, nursing homes and other public institutions is seen by many as a form of punishment.

"I don't want to go into either (the army or civil service)," says Petr, who doesn't want to reveal his last name because he has yet to begin his military service.

Many university students echo Petr's negative feelings about mandatory service, but they see no viable alternatives. Petr outlined his choices: leave the country and come back when he is 30 years old (too old to be drafted); stay in college until he is 30, become a professional athlete, fake his death or pay a physician to declare him physically unfit. This last ploy is known as having a doctor sign the "blue book"—an illegal and expensive operation costing anywhere from 10,000 to 20,000 Kc ($350 to $700).

Young men such as Petr resist being drafted for many different reasons. The horror stories they hear about life in the army is one of the greatest deterrents.

An illegal hierarchy operates in the barracks, according to Petr, "Older" soldiers often force newcomers to perform services for them, and beatings are known to be commonplace. Sometimes a young man will be singled out for abuse and made to carry out humiliating tasks such as cleaning the ballroom with a toothbrush. The penalty for disobeying is a good thrashing, about which the commanders will never hear. Allegedly, some recruits have died as the result of overzealous hazing by fellow soldiers.

Such behavior is strictly forbidden and carries a heavy punishment if it is discovered by the commander. But officers can be a problem too. Since they are long-term career soldiers, it is to be expected that most are strict disciplinaries. They have the authority to cancel a conscript's free time, assign extra duties and issue fines of up to 5,000 Kc for offenses such as missing curfew and fighting in the barracks. But if a conscript is unlucky enough to be assigned to a ruthless commander, his life can be made truly miserable. For some, the pressures become overwhelming. Alcoholism and even suicide are sometimes the result when soldiers are unable to cope with the military environment.

"You can't call for justice in the army," says Saman. "Some commanders work you hard, others aren't so bad."

Although the horror stories are what everyone hears beforehand, what most young men discover once they are in the army is that the hardest part of their job is finding ways to relieve the boredom.

The average day of a conscript begins at 6 a.m. with a dress roll call; breakfast runs from 6:30 to 7; from 7 until 3:30 p.m. conscripts practice marching, train on obstacle courses and complete details such as cleaning the barracks or working on construction projects at the base. After that, a soldier's day is basically done. He is free until 10 p.m., during which time, with proper permission, he is allowed to leave the base. Weekends begin on Friday at 3:30 p.m. and last until Sunday at 10 p.m. Unless he is in his first six weeks, the equivalent of boot camp, a Czech soldier is generally given liberty. But, as Saman points out, there isn't much you can do on less than 10 Kc per day.

Finding ways to fill their free time becomes a challenge. Many soldiers just go out and drink, or hang around the barracks and play cards. Some get more creative, such as the artistic cook who spent hours carving elaborate designs into potatoes.

The policy of stationing conscripts in or close to their home town makes it easier for soldiers to visit their families and friends. But it still hasn't eliminated the feeling for these young men that, for a year, their lives have been put on hold.

Though much about the army has changed since 1989, some things remain the same. Under communism the

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military was virulent in its attempts to indoctrinate soldiers against the Western imperialistic enemy. But for most recruits, other concerns loomed larger. As Baberad recalls, "Our biggest problem was we had too much time and too little money."

Western Oil Firms Improve in Privatization Race

95CH0002D Prague PROGNOSIS in English 28 Sep 94 p 7

[Article by Vladan Sir, with a contribution by Robert McLean: "Western Oil Firms Edge Into Lead in Privatization Race"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The latest installment in half a year of wrangling about who will buy the Czech Republic's state-owned oil industry came last week when two ministers said they were backing a foreign consortium's bid to acquire just half of the Czech petroleum companies.

Privatization Minister Jiri Skalicky and Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said the group of companies (Shell, Total, Conoco and Agip) would get their support when the Cabinet meets for a final decision.

The International Oil Companies (IOC) consortium is bidding only for the refinery industry and is not interested in the petrochemical businesses. Other bidders—a group of Czech refineries and petrochemical outfits, plus another domestic consortium—wish to privatize the two as a whole.

As the oft-delayed deadline knocks on the Cabinet's door, candidates have been heavily campaigning in the Czech press with their proposals. Among the issues are whether or not to separate the two industries, as proposed by the ministers and the IOC, and just how much capital and know-how the privatized companies need.

"Keeping (refineries in the complex) is correct for economic, social, ecological and other reasons," said Miloslav Dolezal, a spokesman for Chemapol, one of the Czech firms in the bidding. "(Our offer) is more multifaceted and better for this economy and this state."

Dolezal accused the IOC of taking only "the raisins off the cake" and leaving the state to deal with the rest of the petrochemical industry, which is going through a slump in production worldwide.

IOC officials, for their part, argue they do not want to commit without the necessary expertise. "We don't have a financial interest in participating in petrochemical businesses simply because the way our group is set up doesn't make it possible," said a high-ranking IOC official. "We ... don't want petrochemical activities."

The IOC representative also said they would want to ensure that petrochemical companies, which use refined petroleum to make other products, are the refineries' bread and butter.

"We as a group are extremely interested in the survival of petrochemical (operations) in the Czech Republic because (they) are the refineries' single largest customer," he said. "As a normal businessman, who would you consider your largest customer? Normally the best, and this is what we are trying to do."

He said the petrochemical industry is very complex and that it would be better to separate it from refineries to simplify restructuring. "If we separate the two businesses, the people running (each) will really find out which investments you have to do in one part and which in the other," he said.

Chemapol has pledged to invest 27 billion Kc ($900 million US) into both refineries and petrochemical companies, according to Chemapol's Jiri Bilek. Half the money would come from Chemapol's own sources and the rest would come from bonds, issuing shares and bank loans.

The IOC would pay roughly $173 million of its own to acquire 49 percent of the refineries. When a joint venture with the Czech state is established, the consortium would guarantee $520 million in bank loans over the next five years—a total investment of nearly $800 million for one industry, as opposed to the Czech offer of just $900 million for both.

"It is very clear that financing is going to be (sought) outside this country so that money needed for other purposes in the country won't be used," said the IOC official. He said the IOC would be able to obtain foreign loans at good rates since all four member companies are large borrowers and have strong ratings with international bankers.

Industry and Trade Ministry spokesman Kamil Cermak said Dlouhy favored the IOC proposal precisely "because he finds it a bigger guarantee for financial support and know-how." The minister earlier voiced doubts about Chemapol's ability to support its proposal financially.

"It is the (ministers') professional responsibility to have a stance, and this is it," Chemapol's Dolezal said of Dlouhy and Skalicky's support for IOC. "We think it is wrong."

Government Considers Corporate Profits Tax Cut

95CH0002C Prague PRAGUE POST in English 4 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by Lubomir Sedlak: "Tax Cut Squeezed Into Balanced 1995 Budget"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] As if the Czech Republic didn't look really attractive enough already, the government has worked a small corporate tax cut into its blueprint for a balanced 1995 budget.

The proposal approved by the cabinet September 21, anticipates 483 billion Kc ($17.5 billion) in expenditures

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and revenues. It also calls for a 1 percent cut on taxable corporate profits, from 42 to 41 percent, and on income tax.

Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said the principal point of the draft is that the share of public expenditures in the country's gross domestic product (GDP) will fall by 1 percent.

The government reportedly "heeded a call" from ministries and raised the sum that is to be spent on education by 400 million Kc, while the amount earmarked for the transport sector will be "slightly less," according to government spokesman Vadim Petrov.

In order to stay in balance, the government had to say no to several ministers who had originally asked for an additional 50 billion Kc in funds.

While government leaders agree to keep a balance this year, all parties opposed a balanced budget amendment proposed by the leading Civic Democratic Party (ODS).

The state budget anticipates the further influx of foreign investments, Petrov said. It also assumes the Czech crown will be fully convertible in two to three years.

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DU, NDS Discuss Forming Coalition Government

AU1810121294 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Oct 94 p 5

[Unattributed article: "L. Cernak: The Coalition Is Capable of Forming a Government Within 24 Hours"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Cooperation between the Democratic Union of Slovakia (DU) and the National Democratic Party-New Alternative (NDS) local and district structures aimed at forming a single political entity and further steps connected with the complaint submitted by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to the Constitutional Court were the topics of yesterday's meeting involving DU and NDS representatives.

DU Deputy Chairman R. Kovac said that the two parties could, within two or three months, reach a joint decision on their merger under the single name of the Democratic Union of Slovakia. NDS Chairman L. Cernak did not rule out the possibility of affiliating other political entities with the DU, especially the Democratic Party, but no specific talks have been held on this yet. L. Cernak also said that, if V. Meciar does not win the support of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] and thus does not form a government within the deadline stipulated, the coalition is "capable of forming a government within 24 hours that would continue in transformation and in overcoming problems at a rapid and radical pace." He said that this would be a minority government with the tacit support of the ZRS.

In connection with the complaint submitted by the HZDS and the Slovak National Party concerning the DU's legality in the early parliamentary election, NDS Chairman L. Cernak said, among other things, that it would be pleased if "the reasonable forces within the HZDS were to reassess these steps and withdraw the complaint to the Constitutional Court because they are gambling with Slovakia's international image." L. Cernak considers the HZDS's attempt to gain a parliamentary majority this way to be playing with fire and an extraordinarily dangerous precedent.

HZDS in Coalition Talks With National Party

LD1810142094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Coalition talks between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] began in Bratislava today.

SNS Chairman Jan Slota said his party's representatives arrived at the talks with the assumption that a coalition government can materialize very quickly. He did not rule out that a fourth partner to form this government would be found soon.

Asked whether it is possible to form a government without top political leaders, Slota said that this is a viable option.

In addition to Slota, the SNS is represented at the talks in Bratislava today by Eva Slavkovska [SNS deputy chairperson], Jozef Prokes [SNS honorary chairman], and Vitazoslav Moric.

The HZDS delegation is led by the movement's deputy chairman, Sergey Kozlik.

MKDH Rules Out Coalition With HZDS

LD1810142694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Representatives of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] gave a news briefing today. [passage omitted]

[Slovak radio editor] Milan Velecky presents further information from the MKDH briefing.

[Velecky] The movement's chairman, Bela Bugar, believes that no one will be able to form a government that will last for the whole four years. After holding talks with other political parties, I do not think our help can produce a more stable government, Bela Bugar said. He added that the MKHD wants to assist in stabilizing the political situation in Slovakia, But the MKHD cannot see the possibility of cooperating with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS]. The HZDS is unable to change the style of its work and do away with its confrontational character, MKDH Chairman Bela Bugar said.

Bugar feels that casting doubt on the mandates of the Democratic Union is tantamount to casting doubt on the election as a whole. However, holding the election again will not bring a more marked change, Bela Bugar said.

On 25 October, representatives of all parliamentary parties and movements are to meet the National Council chairman to agree on forming new bodies of the parliament. The Hungarian coalition will be pushing for a proportional system in filling parliamentary posts and will ask for the seat of National Council deputy chairmen. The coalition council has not appointed a candidate to run for this post yet.

HZDS Turns Spotlight on Privatization Issues

AU1810122894 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 14 Oct 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Stefan Mistrik: "Capital From a Certain Budapest Bank Is Destined for Petrochema Dubova..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—With the entry of the SDL [Party of the Democratic Left] into the privatization process in Slovakia six months ago, morality began to drift away from it. "Dolgos certainly had no idea what kind of genie he was letting out of the bottle when he used the term 'transparency of privatization' for the first time," said Jan Kato before the start of yesterday's HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] press briefing with select journalists.

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This statement was followed by information on how the privatization of strategically important enterprises is also murky. Information that capital from a certain Budapest bank is to be oriented toward Petrochema Dubova attracted most attention. The privatization of this jewel of the Slovak economy is to take place by direct sale...

Former Economy Minister Jan Ducky again pointed out that all of the ethics have gone out of privatization in Slovakia.

"Certain people from the SDL leadership were put in charge of privatization. In my opinion, they are no longer playing in their party colors but in their own colors..." added the former minister.

Hungarians in Dubova?

The report that a Komarno-based company that receives credit from a certain Budapest bank wants to enter into the privatization of the Petrochema Dubova state enterprise by means of a sizable capital stake sounds unbelievable. To freshen our memories, it is necessary to state that this is a smaller Slovak refinery that refines high-quality domestically produced crude oil into so-called light oils. These are used, among other things, as a valuable raw material in pharmaceuticals and cosmetics. The privatization of Petrochema Dubova under these circumstances has, understandably, a political dimension, too.

The Moravcikites want to conduct the sell off of the state's property interests in the following enterprises by means of a direct sale to entities chosen in advance: Vah Cement Works Ladce; Turna Cement Works; Slovak Silk Senica; Matadorbelt Bratislava; ELV Senec; Quarries and Gravels Zlate Moravce; Sanitation and Knackery [kafilersky] Plant Drienov; Krtis Milk Plant Velky Krtis; Slovak Health Spas Piestany; and Slovak Health Spas Trencianske Teplice. A deputy prime minister in the provisional government, Brigita Schmognerova, is in charge of the endeavor to sell a considerable part of this property. It was discussed at a consultative meeting of the economic ministers that was "clandestine."

Inekon Has Not Won Yet

Jan Ducky and Jan Kato briefed reporters on the privatization of the Novaky Chemical Plants. The Prague-based Inekon company has been endowed with property worth 2.5 billion korunas [Sk] in return for Sk400 million. Admittedly, the sum of Sk1.217 billion is mentioned on paper, but Sk817 million represents the investments that will, according to the agreement concluded, be waived if this sum is expended. It is interesting that the investments are to be financed from write-offs. How much the Prague-based Inekon company actually "purchased" the Novaky Chemical Plants for is also apparent from the fact that, during the first seven months of this year, they returned a profit of Sk170 million. This means that Inekon needs just over a year to cover the Sk400 million it should pay the FNM [National Property Fund], and it is absolutely incomprehensible why someone has agreed to a year's suspension of the first repayment of Sk80 million...

What Janicina Does Not Know

"If a minister declares that he does not know what Slovakia's strategic interests are, he should not come to work the next day...," said Jan Ducky, in reference to a statement made by M. Janicina, minister for the administration and privatization of national property. The transparency of privatization, which the provisional government of J. Moravcik employed and employs, also casts doubt on the privatization of the East Slovak Hot Springs by the Mineral company. They got them for Sk65 million, which they will pay to the FNM, and they promised that they will invest a further Sk150 million in development. However, the Levoce-based company Proffice came up with an offer to make a one-time payment of Sk175 million for Santovka and offered to invest another Sk206 million in technical development. This offer was not accepted by the Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property...

The Stropkov Enigma

It is true that Tesla Stropkov was facing collapse. However, it had been privatized by an incompetent management selected in advance by the provisional government. In 1992, this enterprise returned a loss of Sk24 million; last year it was Sk110.5 million, which testifies to the fact that the management either deliberately led the company to collapse or it is incompetent.

Magvasi Agrees With Ukraine on Free Trade Zone

AU1810123994 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 12 Oct 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Free Trade Zone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—Slovak Economy Minister Peter Magvasi, who is paying a two-day official visit to Ukraine, opened the "Slovakia Introduces Itself '94" national exhibition in Kiev yesterday. A total of 52 Slovak enterprises and organizations are presenting themselves at the exhibition, which is taking place for the second time.

Minister Peter Magvasi was received in Kiev by Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitaliy Andriyovych Masol. At the center of their discussion were questions of mutual terms of payment, the final solution to which lies in the hands of the two national banks. Both parties stated that prospective opportunities are looming that could bring a fivefold increase in the volume of Slovak-Ukrainian trade. Mutual trade volume reached $300 million last year.

Peter Magvasi also met with his counterpart Serhiy Hryhorovych Osyka, Ukrainian minister of foreign economic relations. They agreed to expand the agenda of the

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intergovernmental commission by two important points—the establishment of the East Slovakia-West Carpathian Ukraine regional economic sphere, containing free trade zones, and cooperation between the TAZ [Trnava Automobile Works] Trnava a.s. and the Zaporizhzhya Automobile Works.

Nuclear Plant Expects EBRD To Approve Loan

AU1810160694 Bratislava DENNIK in Slovak 14 Oct 94 p 6

[TA SR report: "Reconstruction of Bohunice, Completion, and Putting Into Operation of Mochovce Nuclear Power Plant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pecenice—Participants in the General Assembly of the Slovak Nuclear Society, held in Pecenice, Levice District, on 13 October, dealt with the current situation of nuclear energy in Slovakia, its safety, and the opportunities for its further development.

The society, which was established in 1990, brings together experts in the field of nuclear energy production with a view to exchanging the latest information, helping tackle the Slovak Republic's energy problems, and promoting nuclear energy in Slovakia and abroad.

Rudolf Kvetan, director general of Slovensky Energeticky Podnik [Slovak Energy Enterprise], stated that several projects are under way in the Slovak Republic, aimed at the reconstruction and increased nuclear safety of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant and the completion and putting into operation of the Mochovce nuclear power plant.

The A1 power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice, which was decommissioned after the 1977 accident, remains a serious problem because a large amount of radioactive waste is still located there. A comprehensive program of bringing it into a state of safety [program uvedenia do bezpecneho stavu] should be ready by the end of the year. The program provides for fixating, storing, and, if possible, exporting radioactive waste and spent fuel.

According to Rudolf Kvetan, the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant depends on the acquisition of a foreign loan. A large-scale study of the power plant's impact on the environment is now being completed at Mochovce, and it is expected that, also on the basis of the study's results, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development will decide in December to release money for the power plant. The first credit agreements should be realized in the first quarter of 1995, which would subsequently make it possible to start working on the completion of the power plant.

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National Assembly Adopts 1994 Supplementary Budget

LD1910090294 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Late last night the National Assembly adopted the bill on the 1994 supplementary budget by a large majority. The deputies also voted to raise the VAT rates. The preferential rate, which has been 10 percent, will be raised to 12 percent starting 1 January 1995. VAT on telecommunications services will be 25 percent. The consumer tax on luxury items and fuels will also be increased. Generally, this means a VAT increase of 15 percent on average, but for fuels the tax will be 20 percent higher. Consumer tax on tobacco will be 55 percent, and tax will also be increased on cars.

Court Annuls Decree on Government Funding TV

LD1810170194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Constitutional Court has annulled the decree that rules that Hungarian television and radio are to be included in the prime minister's separate budget, and any member of the government may modify the budget earmarked for those public institutions. According to the Constitutional Court, state institutions are not allowed to influence the content of public service media programs.

Since the guarantees of press freedom still have not been established in Hungary—owing to the lack of an approved media law—the government could influence radio and television programs by having the institutions' budget under its jurisdiction, the Constitutional Court's ruling reads.

Customs Seizes German Gas Pistol Ammunition

LD1810144194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Customs officers have found 30,000 rounds of ammunition for gas pistols in a car at Hegyeshalom. The origin of the consignment, worth more than 1 million forints was a German arms manufacturing company. The car's driver and passenger—both German nationals—intended to take the ammunition to Romania. The consignment was not hidden—it was packed in the trunk of the car and covered with a few clothes—thus, the ammunition smugglers were easily caught.

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Transcript of Walesa-UW Deputies Meeting

WS1710110094 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Oct 94 pp 12-13

["Transcript" of meeting between Polish President Lech Walesa and Freedom Union, UW, legislative deputies; place and date not given: "The Union Refuses To Apologize; Walesa Refuses To Turn Back"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Bronislaw Geremek:** Mr. President, we see that democracy is endangered. I have to make a painful opening statement. You pose a threat to constitutional order and democracy in Poland, Mr. President.

Mr. President, please take the floor.

Lech Walesa: Thank you very much, Ladies and Gentlemen, for the opportunity to attend this meeting. Had such meetings been held—and I always advocated them—my friend would not claim that I am a threat to democracy.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you are too quick to accuse. You pass sentences in haste. Even in court you have to hear the defendant before you pass a sentence. Therefore, I hope, Mr. Bronislaw, that for the sake of our experience and current challenges, we will talk seriously, and reason will prevail as to who is right in this debate.

The threats are numerous, and I think that you, Ladies and Gentlemen, are just as aware of them as I am, although we do not always see them in the same areas. We will also talk of these areas.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki: Mr. President, you know that, ever since 1980, I have always told you the truth, whether it was pleasant or not. There was a time when I was your opponent but never your enemy. You know very well that there are many differences between us and the currently governing coalition, that we are disturbed by the slowing pace of reforms. But our main anxiety—let us be honest about this—is the fear of whether Polish democracy, for which we fought together against a totalitarian system, is threatened today. And, we are very sorry to say, whether it is threatened by you.

The issue at hand is two decisions, the first of which was made with a violation of the law, the second giving rise to even larger fears. We are disturbed by the situation in which generals are used to undermining the basic elements of democracy—civilian control over the Army and the principle of its nonpolitical nature. Are you not aware that one day the generals might say "no" to you, might say "no" to parliament?

We know that the Army wants to remain apolitical, but it has to grow into that, and you, as the watchdog of the Constitution, as president, must teach that to the Army. We want to talk to you because we want to tell you honestly that you have to abandon your path of changing the system in Poland by unconstitutional means. That is the issue, the huge issue at stake. You were on our side once. Together we fought for democracy, and you cannot destroy that democracy today.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz: You have recently been raising objections about the lack of regulation on issues related to national defense. They were expressed forcefully in the speech you gave in Drawsko. You also complained about the lack of laws and the tedious pace of the legislative process. Perhaps there is a grain of truth in what you said, but I would like to recall the following fact. In the fall of 1992, a meeting of the Committee for the Defense of Legality was held, at which you suggested proclaiming two laws—one on the National Guard, the other on settling issues of relegating power between the president, the government, and the head of the General Staff. As a difference of opinion appeared, it was decided that you would present the Sejm with draft laws making up your legislation initiative. You failed to do so. Therefore, you yourself should take some of the blame, perhaps even its major share.

Another issue you keep raising is the alleged lack of clarity as to who is in charge of the Army. The amended law on the mass defense obligation, which was passed during your term in office, thoroughly clarifies the issue. And, if you do not wish to refer to that law, let me quote a passage from the assumptions of Polish defense policy: "In times of peace, the minister of national defense administers the overall activities of the Armed Forces."

One may, of course, speculate as to whether the regulation is proper. The regulation that is being proposed is completely unacceptable because it would cause the head of the General Staff to fall under the direct supervision of the president. Such a solution is unheard of in the practice of democratic states—even in the French and the U.S. presidential systems. In the United States, the head of the general staff is subordinated to the secretary of defense, and in France to the minister of defense. The president exercises his authority through the minister of defense. Solutions other than that are applied in countries that are not and should not serve as models of democracy for us.

Worst of all, the Armed Forces are being drawn into a debate on the political system of our country. The Armed Forces, with leading generals acting as their spokesmen, are voicing their opinions on the most political issue imaginable—on the political system of our country. Forcing the minister of national defense to resign is an inadmissible act in a democratic state.

Juliusz Braun: I would like to refer to the National Broadcasting Council. I believe that the action you took in this case violates something more than a crude provision of the law. It violates basic principles that the president and parliament should protect. The fundamental assumption of the telecommunications bill is the freedom of electronic media. If I may appeal to you personally, I believe that you not only have the formal obligation to protect this freedom—you signed the bill as president and took part in its preparation at all stages—

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but also are under this obligation because of your past. It seems that President Lech Walesa is destroying everything Lech Walesa created when he fought to wrench control of radio and television from communist hands. Today, when the activities of the governing coalition remind us of old threats to the freedom of speech, I would like to be certain that we are on the same side.

If you found that two of the council members had violated the law, you could take the issue to court. There is a court that could ultimately and finally settle the matter.

Mr. President, over my office desk hangs a drawing by Fedorowicz, dating back to the 1980's, which you may well remember: an anonymous man with a mustache. I sometimes have a strong urge to appeal to that man with the mustache regarding the conduct of President Lech Walesa. I hope that, in regard to the council, you will make decisions that will return respect for the law.

Hanna Suchocka: We are all speaking about democracy. I think it is worth remembering that the strength of democracy lies in respect for democratic institutions, a respect that has to be, as we often emphasize, held by the citizens, but most of all manifested by the authorities. It is my belief that the "legal tricks," as I will call them, that are at present being practiced on our political scene serve neither democracy nor the creation of a legitimate state.

We cannot fight political concepts of which we disapprove with disregard for the law or by bypassing it. Legal means are the only means of defense for a democratic state.

We cooperated when the Small Constitution came into effect. At the time, we acknowledged that it was a constitution of comprise that provided for institutions cumbersome for both the prime minister and the president. I fear that current developments will make it impossible to reach a compromise in the development of a full-fledged constitution to fit a modern state. I fear that the constitution that is likely to emerge will be a backlash at all of the existing tensions and the specific interpretation of law and democracy represented by—I am sorry to say—the Presidential Office. A constitution drafted in such a short circuit has no likelihood of being long-lasting; it cannot become a constitution on which we can all focus.

Donald Tusk: Mr. President, I represent that faction of the UW that has stood by you for a long time. I therefore find it difficult to say these words. We always had deep-seated trust that all of your decisions, however difficult they sometimes were to justify, always served freedom and legitimate rule. Today I fear that the new constitution will be a buffer, the law will be a buffer, and the voters will be a buffer.

As far as I understand your intentions, you are also worried about making sure that the rules of the present coalition do not lead Poland in the wrong direction. Despite your own will, you are becoming the top officer in the election campaign of that camp. With your very own hands, you are putting the ermine robe of defender of democracy on those who took that very democracy from Poland 50 years ago.

Jacek Kuron: If, instead of protecting the law, the president breaks it, he primarily endangers the security of the weakest. I am deeply convinced that the president will repeal all of his illegal decisions, that he will punish all of the officers who violated the rules of discipline acting against their supervisor, lead to their being punished, and join forces with us in the difficult undertaking of defending democracy. (applause)

Walesa: If I prove to you that this discussion is beside the point, will you all take back what you have said so far?

Unison: Yes.

Walesa: Good. Let us begin. I had no conflict with the minister of defense, head of the General Staff, or the General Staff as a whole. The conflict began much earlier, and it is a human, emotional conflict and one marked by sickness. The conflicts became so visible and went so far that I was unable to go on.

I wanted to solve the problem in a gentlemanly manner, in the company of generals only, in Drawsko. And I succeeded. Only I thought that words and agreements would be kept. At the very end, I asked: "Gentlemen, is cooperation between you possible?" In reply I heard: "There is no possibility of cooperation." So, I said: "Gentlemen, what choice do I have as commander in chief of the Armed Forces? I cannot turn my back on either group. I love them both. Admiral, Sir, I can offer you any ministerial post you wish because I have no choice, because choice is the lesser evil." The reply: "Give me until Monday and I will do it." I agreed to that. You know what happened later. It was all publicized and presented, and preparations of a line of defense began. It is my fault that I had trust and did not take any action.

This is not a conflict over the Army. That is a substitute conflict, but it cannot be solved. If the community were divided—one or two generals, let us say—we could push them in somewhere. So, in confidence, I said: Gentlemen, the Army is made up of my people; you are mine, let us do this quietly. And quietly everything leaked out. The rest you already know.

See where being a gentleman has gotten me? Where my honesty has gotten me? Plus, you have already judged me. It is my fault. I did it. Because Janusz has come forth with accusations, I will not refrain from talking. Janusz, do you remember that you were in a similar situation when you were accused of excessively expanding the Ministry of Defense, that you spent all your time abroad and were hardly in the country, did not take part in debates, did not take care of anything? A vote was nearly

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held, but you were my friend. I hushed up the whole matter, thinking we could do something about it. Then came the election and everything passed away.

As far as the Television Council is concerned, Ladies and Gentlemen, to this day I do not know what the name of the head of PolSat is because I saw three different identification cards that he used. I would never have handed over control of all television to anyone like him. But let bygones be bygones. I decided to allow others to enter the scene and block the monopoly I saw emerging.

My guiding principles were honesty, pluralism, and democracy. I did not want one particular individual to take everything. I wanted to give others a chance. To achieve that, I had to act on the fringes of the law, but according to logic. Now please apologize for everything you have said.

Geremek: We cannot apologize to you, Mr. President, for the fact that you were unable to hush something up. We are at opposite poles, and you yourself have said that the point of view depends on where one sits. We are defenders of a parliamentarian, democratic institution. Its principle is the observance of law and making everything accessible to the public.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: I am very sorry to say that we not only have no reason to apologize, but also are listening with dread to what you are saying. I wish to protest your talking about politics using terms such as "pals." The problem is not that you have a pal here or there, and you have difficulty in deciding which pal should be appointed to which post. I protest against that because it is a violation of the principles to which we have subscribed for 10 years.

You remember very well that, in Magdalenka, we were also asked to be discreet and hush things up, not to inform the public, because there was no use. We understood each other better. And you remember, as well as I, that we protested and said: "No, pals, we will not hush things up. We will go public."

The citizens have a right to know what is going on also in the Army. You are not to decide who is a better pal and who is worse and who should hold responsible posts in the country. If someone is ill, Mr. President, he gets sick leave. Having heard what you said, I do not know who should take sick leave—you or the generals. I think perhaps sick leave financed by the state should be granted to all participants in this sick debate.

We have gathered here to appeal to you to restore public order. For your sake, Lech, I wish the Lech Walesa period is not referred to in the history books as the period between Jaruzelski and Jaruzelski.

Walesa: I still do not understand whether this is spite or incomprehension. Who was to help in solving the conflict that was developing? Who was supposed to take care of that? I was supposed to take care of that in a gentlemanly way as head of the Armed Forces, and I did. These were not pals. This was not throwing anyone out. It was an agreement on who and how, so that we could act together and introduce order.

I did not expect that promises would be broken, that a fierce rivalry for posts would begin, because two days earlier I heard: "If the president asks me to resign, I will resign." I had faith in the generals, in their honor, that no one would break any rules, that we were doing this properly and nobly, not between us pals but honestly, for the benefit of Poland, for the reforms we are implementing.

And you, Wladek, talk of pals. This was not a buddy-buddy thing. It was an attempt to solve a conflict that had been going on for a year and had to be stopped. Ladies and Gentlemen, one other thing: The generals did not meddle with anything. I just said: "Gentlemen, I would like to ask you one more time whether there exists any possibility for cooperation so we can do what has to be done." The reply remained the same. Opinions were split, and it was not a political reply. The developments went so far as to lead to obstinacy dictated by ambition, as well as a lack of seriousness. I trust that the commission will determine and demonstrate to you where certain things, which do not happen to even kindergarten children, occurred.

Olga Krzyzanowska: I would like to return to the issue of principles. By way of example, I would like to refer to the dismissal of two members of the National Broadcasting Council. If the whole country was concerned over whether their dismissal was legal, because there was a lack of legal clarity, then what conclusions may our society draw? That loopholes in the law are sought to settle private matters?

Polish society is very sensitive to abusing the law or taking advantage of loopholes, as you say, to account for appointing and dismissing people as you wish. We were witnesses to such practices, in their more drastic version, for over 40 years, and I look with apprehension as each step is taken in that direction, even if you, Mr. President, claim your decision was just. I am against such principles, and the majority of us always will be.

Walesa: This is all very well, but why did you fail to notice that the lawyers themselves acted illegally? The court repealed decisions it had previously declared and passed. Dear Lawyers, dear Mr. Speaker, please state facts as they are—that a lawyer who knows he has no legal ground for his decisions but makes them anyway-,commits a far more serious violation. He should first establish a law and only then make a decision.

Geremek: Mr. President, please leave all legal issues to lawyers who have respect for the law.

Bronislaw Komorowski: It was possible to introduce very far-reaching changes in the Polish Army over the past few years. Together with you, Mr. President, and other forces from the Solidarity groups, we have succeeded in

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creating an army for an independent, sovereign state. We have also managed to form an army that is apolitical, which does not belong to any political party or any political powers and is an army for the entire nation.

Two years ago, at a meeting with the commanding officers of the Polish Army, in the presence of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and Minister Onyszkiewicz, you appealed to the officers of the Polish Army to preserve the fully nonpolitical character of the Armed Forces. You warned them of the risks of drawing the Army into political struggles. Two years later, in Drawsko, a vote of confidence for the defense minister was held.

Mr. President, you suggested to Minister Kolodziejczyk that he come to terms with the head of the General Staff. A superior cannot strike deals with his subordinates. That would be a violation of a fundamental Army rule—namely, that of supervision and subordination. Another fundamental principle was violated in Drawsko, the principle that the Army does not meddle with politics. Mr. President, we do not want to wage a war with the Army; we do not want to wage a war with you. We want to continue our fight for the shape of the Polish Army, an army of a democratic and sovereign state.

Walesa: I did not ask the generals about political parties, about their political views, or whether they are a civilian army because everyone, myself included, agreed that they were. What you are driving at is handing over the ministry and giving a party the possibility of influencing the Army. I have managed to stay apolitical so far and intend to remain so for some time.

Geremek: Corporal Walesa always said one must obey orders. How can you expect orders to be obeyed when you ask the generals whether they should kick their superior out the door?

Walesa: No, you cannot put it that way.

Jan Krol: Who is responsible for the people who always betray you in the end, who begin to contradict you? I wish to appeal to you to start taking that responsibility because, otherwise, your ideal model of presidential rule reminds one of the first secretary: phone calls, trustworthy comrades, and decisions for which no one is held responsible. You often say that you never make mistakes. I would like to point out, with full respect for the amazing political intuition you demonstrated in the 1980's, that your projections for the political scene, that the left leg would fall apart completely and the right leg would have to be disembodied before the political scene was formed anew, failed. The left leg has become stronger, while the right one fell apart, because of what you did. Today, we face a threat that the current political setup, of which we are highly critical, continues to grow stronger.

Waldemar Kuczynski: After one hour of this meeting, I wish I could extend the apology you demanded. I am sorry that, like my friend Frasyniuk, I cannot do so because of the facts. First of all, if the president of the Republic of Poland says that he acts on the fringes of the law to introduce stronger presidential rule, and if a vote is held among generals as to who is to become minister of defense, one has to say: "Alarm bells are ringing, Mr. President."

It is beyond any doubt that further movement along this path, if it were to carry on, pushes Poland back to events that civilized Europe seems to have abandoned nearly 20 years ago, together with the downfall of the dictatorship of "the black colonels" in Greece. The president of the Republic of Poland may not act on the verge of law. There is only law or anarchy. Perhaps it is fine for Mr. Falandysz to act on the fringes of the law, but such conduct is inadmissible for the president of the Polish Republic.

Zofia Kuratowska: Ever since the infamous "war at the top," you did everything you could to discredit and render worthless all of the efforts we made in the 1980's, crowned with the 1989 election. We Poles want to remember Lech Walesa as the creator of the huge Solidarity movement for the advancement of Poland's freedom. We want to remember the Lech Walesa who swept millions of Americans off their feet in his speech before the U.S. Congress.

Henryk Wujec: Mr. President, Lech, you may consider yourself appointed, appointed to protect the law, to protect democracy, to guard the Constitution. You have been elevated to this function by the nation. I believe that, if you intend to retain that function, you must change some of the decisions you made—those on the fringes of the law and those illegal. I hope that our next meeting will be held in a more favorable atmosphere. For both your sake, Mr. President, and ours.

Walesa: I will not turn back or change any of my decisions because I am fully convinced they were just. Had I ignored the counsel of some of those gathered here today, Poland would be a completely different country. I am certain that I am once again correct. I am sure that not only law itself is for people, but also the sense it conveys. No one, even if I am the last man in Poland, has the power to make me turn back, be it by blackmail, threat, or manipulation.

Of course, I may have chosen a wrong method of defense because I cannot use all of the arguments I have. You are well aware that I cannot. You know very well that I have said too much on the television issue. I would therefore like to appeal to you: This is not right, Gentlemen. We had a battle to fight. Let me put this differently: Do you really believe I did not foresee that the postcommunist forces would bite back, which positions they would take, and what they would do? Do you think I did not know I had no chance of winning on all fronts, that I did not realize that a division of the right and the left legs had to take place so that they could be reassembled in a proper way? I apologize that I am so conceited, but I play in 10

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moves, at least. This is not conceit. I have always been like this. That is why we were able to win.

Gentlemen, things could have been quite different if we had made our move with Prime Minister Pawlak and the whole Solidarity government. It could have been completely different if you had listened when I told you exactly who would win, who would take your place. Today, you refuse to attack me once again because, from the point of view of morals, considering the necessities I currently face, I have done everything I possibly could. Nothing more could have been done. Do you think I did not know what price I would have to pay? And what was it for? So that I would lose the election? Mr. Bronek, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is not right. But I will keep my honor.

Geremek: One of the solutions at which you arrived was the dissolution of parliament. Because you knew what the outcome of the election would be, is this what you really wanted, Mr. President?

Walesa: No, I wanted to protect the government of Prime Minister [Suchocka]. I made an offer to join forces, to run in the election together. You turned me down.

Geremek: Mr. President, you expected an apology, we expected very little. We wished you would repeal unjust and illegal decisions. We believed that, just as you have a right to point out mistakes to others, we have a right to expect that the president sees his own mistakes. Mr. President, the UW has grown from the anticommunist opposition. The UW has always wanted and still wants a democratic state. It just so happens that you are a historic symbol of the defeat of communism and the building of democratic order. It is a paradox that we have to end this meeting in such a way. We remain deeply concerned that the weak Polish democracy may become threatened. It is inconceivable, Mr. President, that the threat is posed by Lech Walesa, the leader of the anticommunist battle and the fight to introduce new order in our country.

Walesa: You may be sure that I will bring back an equilibrium. I will bring democracy without breaking any law.

Geremek: That is a very solemn declaration.

Walesa: Law is one thing, victory is another, and you have to join the two.

Second Stage of Arms Reduction in Army Starts

LD1810165494 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1600 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The second stage of the reduction of Polish Army equipment has started. Heinz Locke, a Bundeswehr general, has supervised the liquidation of tanks and howitzers.

Eighty two T-55 tanks and 32 howitzers will be destroyed in a scrap metal plant in Dabrowa Gornicza over four days. This results from the international agreement on arms reduction signed by Poland. Some 637 tanks, 450 transporters, and other military equipment have been destroyed since 1992.

Daily Outlines Careers of Some Top Generals

WS1910080094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski: "Military Careers in Recent Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Personnel changes in the Army are being made: Some people are being promoted, others retired. Some officers have made a brilliant career in recent years. For various reasons, they were the heroes of press articles.

Jan Swiatowiec

...was retired at his own request in 1986. Born in 1925, graduated from the General Staff Academy. Former head of the First (operational) Board of the General Staff, military attache in Bulgaria. When Martial Law was imposed, he was commander of the Staff of the Warsaw Military District.

He returned to active service in January 1991, to the presidential National Security Office [BBN], which was being set up at that time. He became head of the BBN Military Department. As early as November 1991, he was promoted from brigadier general to division general. He was the main author of the draft military doctrine prepared by the BBN. At that time, he was considered "the brains" of the BBN. He proposed, among other things, that the BBN become the president's "war office." In February 1993, he was again retired.

During Lech Walesa's presidency, a man who is making his career once again is...

Czeslaw Wawrzyniak

Born in 1937. Until 1987, for 22 years worked in various positions in the Second Board of the General Staff (intelligence). A party activist, former secretary of the Primary Party Organization in the Second Board. He fulfilled, among other things, the functions of an officer working under the military attache in France. He was a military attache in Italy. In 1987, he was removed from service as punishment for lack of loyalty. Various reasons for that are mentioned. According to one version, it was punishment for cooperation with the GRU [Chief Administrator for Intelligence; Division of the General Staff of the Soviet Army]; according to another, punishment for the fact that his daughter married an Italian.

Early in 1991, he was restored to active service. He was appointed head of the office of Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk (in the Bielecki government). The president promoted him to the rank of rear admiral in May

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1991. In the very same year, Kolodziejczyk nominated Wawrzyniak for the head of the Military Information Service [WSI]—that is, the military special services (where military intelligence and counterintelligence were combined). In 1992, he was recalled from this position by Jan Parys. In line with unofficial information, after the downfall of the Olszewski government, the Belweder once again tried to appoint Wawrzyniak as head of the WSI but failed because Parys's successor, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, had another candidate for that post.

Still, as the director of the National Defense Ministry [MON] after the downfall of the Olszewski cabinet, Onyszkiewicz appointed Colonel...

Boleslaw Izydorczyk

...WSI head. Izydorczyk graduated from the Military Technical Academy in Warsaw. He worked on the Board of Military Foreign Affairs, then chaired one of the boards within t he WSI. In November 1992, he was promoted to brigadier general.

In the spring of 1994, Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk transferred the intelligence and counterintelligence services from MON to the General Staff. Thus, Izydorczyk no longer headed the WSI. He became head of the Office for Information Services, which remained within the structures of MON. This step, which in reality meant that Izydorczyk would stay away from all executive activities of the WSI, was caused, in line with press reports, by the reservations of the Belweder: The minister was allegedly favoring the Democratic Left Alliance too much.

Jerzy Milewski

Born in 1935, Master of Science in physics, head of the Foreign Office of Solidarity in Brussels. He was appointed head of the presidential BBN in 1991. He was nominated as a state secretary. In the fall of 1993, he became deputy minister of national defense. He held both offices. Then he left the BBN.

Slawoj Leszek Glodz

...was drafted into the Army from a seminary and served a full two-year stint there. Between 1981 and 1991, he worked at the Vatican in the Congregation for Eastern Churches. Late in January 1991, he was nominated by the pope as field bishop of the Polish Army. He was promoted in the church hierarchy: He became a bishop on 23 February 1991. Two months later, the president presented him with the nomination of brigadier general. In November 1993, Bishop Glodz was promoted to the rank of division general.

Czeslaw Laszczkowski

When he became the head of the BBN Defense System Department, he was a colonel. He graduated from the General Staff Academy. He was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in November 1991. Two years later, on his 55th birthday, he was nominated as a division general.

On 4 September, Brigadier General...

Tadeusz Wilecki

...was appointed by President Wojciech Jaruzelski as head of the Silesian Military District [SOW]. Wilecki, born in 1945, graduated from the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army. In 1990, on the 45th anniversary of the end of World War II, Jaruzelski promoted him to division general (along with four other brigadier generals). At that time, he was the youngest division general in Poland. He fulfilled the function of head of the staff of Division General Zdzislaw Stelmaszczuk, who was then the deputy head of the General Staff. Wilecki still headed SOW.

When the Suchocka government came to power, Lech Walesa, on the motion of Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz, appointed Tadeusz Wilecki (instead of Gen. Zdzislaw Stelmaszczuk) head of the General Staff. Before that, Wilecki was involved in a scandal caused by Jan Parys. Parys accused Wilecki of secretly meeting with BBN head Jerzy Milewski, who allegedly offered him the post of General Staff head.

In November 1992, Tadeusz Wilecki was promoted to arms general. Thus, he had the highest rank among the military in active service.

He graduated from the Higher Naval School in Gdynia, Naval Academy of the Soviet Union in Leningrad. He studied at the Voroshylov General Staff Academy SZ [expansion unknown] USSR in Moscow.

Piotr Kolodziejczyk

Born in 1939 in Poznan. He went through typical promotions, from the commander of a flotilla of ships to the head of the Navy. In the middle of the 1980's, he went to MON, where he became head of the famous Main Political Directorate [GZP] of the Polish Army. As it turned out, he was the last head of this establishment. After the GZP was dissolved, Kolodziejczyk became the first head of the Main Educational Directorate of the Polish Army.

On 9 October 1989, he was promoted to the rank of vice admiral. He was deputy of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] in the 10th Sejm. He was in the PZPR until the end. On 6 July 1990, he became national defense minister, replacing Florian Siwicki. Kolodziejczyk called the outgoing minister a model citizen and a great patriot. On 31 December 1991, new MON head Jan Parys retired Kolodziejczyk from military service. As a civilian, Kolodziejczyk became MON head in the Pawlak government.

Finance Minister on Budget, Privatization

LD1810203894 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 18 Oct 94

[Studio interview with Grzegorz Kolodko, Polish deputy prime minister and finance minister, by an unidentified

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correspondent on 18 October; from the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—monitored in progress]

[FBIS Translated Text] ...[Correspondent] What can you buy for 5.815 million zlotys in Poland?

[Kolodko] Well, just as I have said. You can purchase 2 percent more than last year, in the final year of the Democratic Union and Liberal Democratic Congress rule. So, if anyone starts converting it to real pay, we are better by at least that 2 percent. But, as far as manufacturing is concerned, we are better by as much as 10 percent simply because our policy, the Strategy for Poland, is a better economic program, and, what is interesting, is that people capable of pragmatic thinking who do not play politics and are not concerned about ideology can appreciate it. When I was on my way here to you, I browsed through this morning's press, and I could see that the Business Center Club stressed its support for the direction of reforms that businessmen have been implementing [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] businessmen are putting pressure despite the fact that you have been harassing them with taxes.

[Kolodko] No, you cannot surprise me here. Well, if businessmen, entrepreneurs, and investors keep complaining, which is natural, about taxes being too steep, from their point of view, then they complain that budget expenditure is also somewhat too high. So, if there is any conflict of interest, there certainly is between those who pay the taxes and those who benefit from those taxes through budget expenditure. So, briefly speaking, businessmen claiming they pay taxes that are too high can perhaps hold the view that the state budget spends too much on national defense—for example, on education—but generally that we are spending too much and [words indistinct], and this minister of finance is such a chap, or a person in the state hierarchy, who has to reconcile those contradictory interests. What I propose in the state budget bill is an attempt to solve this conflict.

[Correspondent] Minister, let us go back to the mass privatization program for a moment. We have many subjects here: Will the prime minister sign, and is it known what he will sign, meaning what will he not sign? He recently announced that he will take a number of companies off the list [words indistinct].

[Kolodko] I think he will sign the third tranche, reduced perhaps by 10 or a dozen or so companies, which has no significant meaning...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Ten of the best or 10 of the worst companies?

[Kolodko] Those he will consider as appropriate as prime minister of the government of the Polish Republic because he has a right to do so. Which companies it will be will only be known when the list is published.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] that the prime minister discussed this with you?

[Kolodko] I know which, but, because the list has not been signed yet, it cannot be published. But I stress that this is of marginal significance, not to say downright third rate, from the point of view of what has been happening in the Polish economy. I regret that the reason for asking such questions of me, of the prime minister and other politicians will disappear...

[Correspondent, interrupting] When the whole thing is signed.

[Kolodko] Yes.

[Correspondent] You seem to attach little significance to it. Do you think this is the most important thing?

[Kolodko] This is definitely not the most important thing because, although the program has not started, by some strange coincidence output has grown by over 10 percent, inflation has dropped, the budget deficit is much smaller, and exports are flourishing to such an extent that even the oldest people cannot remember anything like it. It therefore turns out that there is no direct connection between the failure to sign the program and real economic processes.

On the other hand, in the longer term, it becomes clear that the connection between macroeconomic changes, which include privatization and the improvement of efficiency, meaning growth, is a positive one. That is why we will be resolutely continuing the privatization processes in the Polish economy and assuming that the scale of privatization next year will be even greater than this year, when—I want to stress it resolutely—it is greater than in the previous year. As I once said, we are not privatizing individually, one by one, but to the benefit of the Polish economy—and we have privatized about half as many this year as in 1993. Such are the facts, that Prime Minister Pawlak's government...

[Correspondent, interrupting] [Words indistinct] talking in terms of money...

[Kolodko] Yes, in terms of money. We are not playing a counting game; we have a market economy to run. That is why, first and foremost, money and economic effects are significant here. As a result, there is more money in the budget, thanks to which the budget deficit is lower, thanks to which we can spend more from this budget to finance the public sector, and thanks to which we can sustain strong growth and development tendencies, which former governments somehow failed to achieve. One wonders why.

[Correspondent] Why did the previous governments fail to do that?

[Kolodko] Because they were conducting policies that were less effective than the ones this government is implementing, because the monetary and fiscal instruments were not selected well and the microeconomic

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restructuring was not implemented properly. Particularly at the beginning of the implementation of economic stabilization, the program was shot through [przestrzelony], which is quite obvious today. But now this amounts to an academic discussion or a historical analysis. It is now almost the end of 1994. The question today is whether we have drawn conclusions from those mistakes and what mistakes we are committing at present. I do not doubt that we are committing some mistakes, although I hope that, as a result of the self-education process, these mistakes are not the same as the mistakes made by my predecessors.

[Correspondent] Your successor will certainly be talking about these mistakes and will say: Kolodko did this and that wrong.

[Kolodko] No doubt he will find a mistake or two, but he will not be able to say that, during the Strategy for Poland period, manufacturing output was not growing, that inflation did not drop, and that we did not halt unemployment. Please note as well that we have been successful in achieving another objective set by the Strategy for Poland—namely, the third objective—together with economic growth and macroeconomic stabilization, a reduction in the social costs of reforms.

This is reflected by both the growing level of wages and the drop in unemployment. Unemployment has dropped again this month. It is 0.3 percent lower and stands at 16.5 percent. One could say only 16.5 percent when you compare it with the situation a few months ago. However, I have to say as much as 16.5 percent because some years ago there was no unemployment whatsoever, and, if you compare the rate of unemployment in Poland with other countries that are undergoing transformation, you will see that we have acquired the unemployment problem also as a result of excessively restrictive financial policies at the beginning of the 1990's, which had led to the completely unnecessary scale of economic breakdown in Poland. So, despite the excellent rate of economic growth that the Strategy for Poland brings all of the time, social costs accompanying the restructuring of the Polish economy are enormous. Hence, the considerable amount of discontent. We will all have to work hard before the situation changes.

[Correspondent] For the first time, you have sharply criticized the economic policies of the Solidarity governments.

[Kolodko] No, not for the first time. My concern is not criticism but solving problems. Everyone can read what my views are. I have written several books on the subject. I will not advertise them because they are available all of the time, if anyone wants to buy them—both *Transformation of the Polish Economy* and *Squaring of the Pentagon*. Criticism makes sense, ladies and gentlemen, when it is constructive criticism, when it is based on an analysis of facts and on an interpretation of processes, as well as on an attempt to make appropriate conclusions. For this reason, I have been watching with astonishment certain reactions by some politicians and prominent figures in our public life. They are trying to criticize me. For example, they are trying to criticize me by saying that budget expenditure is too low. Everyone mentions here what he is interested in or what his so-called electorate is interested in. Some time ago I said, ladies and gentlemen, that I am counting public money. I am counting the taxpayer's money. I have respect for it, and I am the guardian of this public money. What politicians often count is electoral votes. Under slogans related to caring about public interests, they try to increase the expenditure, without saying where the money is supposed to come from.

Most of the time at meetings, as the first point on the agenda, one talks or sometimes shouts that expenditure on everything should be increased. Otherwise, this would amount to a drastic drop, terrible negligence, or the backwardness of civilization in one area or another. One could enumerate here: science, culture, education, defense, security, and justice, depending on personal choice and background and on what interest group the person represents.

The second point on the agenda at such meetings are comments that taxes are too high and that the fiscal policies are too excessive.

Finally, one moves to the last point, where one says that the deficit is extremely high and that it leads to excessive inflation. As the fourth point, the Central Bank receives praise [word indistinct] that it does not want to finance this deficit.

Today the question is: Should we increase budget expenditure? If the answer is yes, where should we find the money to pay for it? Should it be done through further escalation of fiscal policies, to which I am firmly opposed? I think that already at the time of the previous governments the fiscal policies reached the limits of decency, or—one would agree with the Business Center Club here—even slightly exceeded such limits.

However, to curb the tax burden imposed on society, including both economic entities in the entrepreneurial sphere and taxes affecting households, the expenditure side of the budget must be reformed. The expenditure must be more rational.

[Correspondent] Does this mean spending less?

[Kolodko] Not necessarily less and less. In absolute figures, we may be spending a little more or increasingly more, simply because the national income is growing. Even though the scale of taxation in relation to the national income is slightly lower, on the whole there will be a little more money in the kitty. However, if we tried to outshout one another and blackmail one another—if you do not give me money something will collapse—we will bring about a situation where there is a war of everyone against everyone else. We will squabble about

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the limited, although growing, pool of money, and a lot of noise will be generated instead of constructive effort. If we were to increase the level of financing from the budget deficit, one should clearly say that the conflict of interest and points of view is not between myself and spheres such as defense, national education, health protection, and culture, but between those spheres and the management of the Central Bank, the National Bank of Poland, which is refusing to take part in far-reaching financing of the deficit, including state budget expenditure. If someone has any grievances concerning these financial macroproportions, also the financing of the deficit, the grievances should be addressed not to the government but to somebody else.

I am firmly in favor of keeping the budget deficit in reserve because it can, in turn, influence an increase in inflation. If today, under the slogans Poland into NATO, Civilization progress, and Higher standards in science and culture, someone tries in fact to whip up inflation, one should be aware of the cause and effect connections, although the people interested in increasing the expenditure in those spheres may not be aware of them.

However, the Republic's minister of finance must be aware and is aware of these connections. Consequently, the budget that is discussed at the Council of Ministers' meetings on Tuesdays takes into account all of these conditions, possibilities, and good prospects for the Polish economy. I would like to have allies among you, ladies and gentlemen, who are listening to me now and who pay taxes and for whom I wish these taxes will be coming down in time. Let us not be fooled, ladies and gentlemen, and let us not tear apart this budget by using misleading slogans about a better future. These slogans have been repeated like a broken record for many, many years. As a result, we have had certain problems all the time.

The inflation rate dropped to 27 percent in December of this year. [sentence as heard] Last year, in December, inflation stood at 37 percent. Next year it will drop below the level of 17 percent, provided you help your minister of finance guard the public money because, if we are paying such high taxes, we should demand from those who are in charge of the public money that it be used in the most rational way. Otherwise, we will have to—God forbid!—increase taxes even more, and I would certainly not like to do that.

[Correspondent] You are a marvelous interlocutor because you ask yourself questions and then go on to reply to these questions yourself.

[Kolodko] Well, you know, but...

[Correspondent, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Kolodko] [Words indistinct] let me explain because, if you ask me the question whether it is good that the Polish National Bank has finally changed its mind and is announcing today that inflation next year will fall below 17 percent, but since you have not asked this question then, above all...

[Correspondent, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Kolodko] [Words indistinct] I, above all, wish to assist you, too...

[Correspondent, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Kolodko] [Words indistinct] this question, and I will tell you frankly that I am very happy that the Polish National Bank will also shift, is learning, and has shifted, and is withdrawing from its earlier, erroneous assumptions and is adapting its prognoses to these hard limits that I am imposing in the draft budget. I am happy that, finally, (he) will perhaps also have an ally in the Polish National Bank in his anti-inflationary direction [as heard].

[Correspondent] If I have understood, I hope that all that you have said—the interview has lasted 15 minutes—for the first seven minutes you criticized the erroneous economic policy of the previous, Solidarity governments and then, for the next seven minutes, you, with this slight bitterness in your voice, criticized your colleague-ministers who are grabbing money for various lobbies—military, internal affairs, housing, health—and the chairman of the National Bank of Poland. Have I understood correctly?

[Kolodko] No. I am not criticizing anyone. I am encouraging everyone into creative, good cooperation around the resolution of the difficult problems of Polish public finance and the maintenance of the growth trend. At the moment, I am not criticizing anyone. I am only encouraging my lady colleague and my colleague-ministers to stand in serried array behind this budget that is already prepared because they will not succeed in [word indistinct] a better [word indistinct], and damage...

[Correspondent, interrupting] If the budget is already prepared, you do not particularly wish to change it?

[Kolodko] Ah, you have summed it up nicely. Not particularly, because I stress with full responsibility that budgets are adopted by parliaments, and they have ministers of finance to implement them. Things will not be any different in Poland. I have presented jonly a draft budget. The will of a democratically elected parliament, Sejm and Senate, and of the presidential countersignature will be that this budget receives the form of a mandatory financial law. Then we will all have to adhere to this law. On the other hand, this budget is, of course, open to criticism at this stage, to discussion...

[Correspondent, interrupting] They may criticize it, but nothing may be changed?

[Kolodko] No, it may be changed but only for the better.

[Correspondent, interrupting] [words indistinct] It is very late. May we sum up, in a word, that the budget is

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ready? I also read in one of the dailies today that a real struggle over the budget has begun in Poland. From what you say, it transpires that it is so, that it has in fact begun.

[Kolodko] Well, you know, some people are trying to give this the form of a struggle, but they are doomed to failure from the start because common sense will prevail in this struggle, and let us wish that this will be so.

[Correspondent] What is the strategy for after the struggle?

[Kolodko] This is the "Strategy for Poland."

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. The "Guest of Radio Zet" today was Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and finance minister.

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Senator Urges Action To Gain U.S. Military Aid

AU1910135894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At the opening of today's Senate session, several senators formulated political declarations.

Democratic Party Senator Ovidiu Popescu notified the plenum that on 13 October the U.S. Congress passed and forwarded to President Clinton the legislation allowing him to approve sales of U.S. offensive and non-offensive military equipment surplus first of all to Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. The documents sent to President Clinton also mentions the fact that Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia already meet NATO criteria to be admitted as full members of that body.

Senator Ovidiu Popescu requested that Romania's president, government, Foreign Affairs Ministry, and Parliament should take firm steps so that Romania could also benefit from such military assistance by the United States.

Service Seeks To Identify King's Welcomers

AU1910103694 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 13 Dec 94 p 12

[Radu Tudor, Andrea Aurora Manta, Bogdan Iacob note: "UN 0215 Identifies All Persons Who Were Present on the Airport Runway for King Mihai's Arrival"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The intelligence service of the Ministry of Interior (MI), Military Unit (UM) 0215, led by Major General Dan Gheorghe, is currently examining, second by second, the film shot at Otopeni Airport on Friday, 7 October, during King Mihai's arrival.

Two cameramen, one from the UM 0215 and the other one from the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] filmed the entire event on 7 October. Each person appearing in the film is currently being identified and checked. The people on duty at the steps of the plane have already been identified.

At the negotiations conducted with King Mihai and Queen Ana in the protocol microbus which pulled up at the steps of the airplane, the UM 0215 cameraman was introduced as a "reporter from CNN."

The Senate's Defense Commission Watched the Cassette With the Four Parliamentarians

Yesterday, the Senate Defense Commission watched the video cassette put at their disposal by the Ministry of Interior, with the film of the events that took place at Otopeni Airport during King Mihai I's arrival.

Specialized bodies of this ministry filmed the developments with seven cameras, including the way in which the four parliamentarians present at the airport "forced their way onto the airport's runway situated in the border zone and threatened the guarding personnel, telling them that when the opposition takes over power, it will deal with them accordingly," as several commission sources maintain.

We would like to remind our readers that the four parliamentarians are Dinu Patriciu and Horia Rusu, deputies of the Liberal Party 1993 (PL'93), and Serban Sandulescu and Ticu Dumitrescu, senators of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD]. Commission sources also told us that this practically marks the start of the procedure to lift the parliamentary immunity of the four. The commission will shortly take a decision in this respect.

'Massive' Fuel Exports to FRY Cause Shortage

AU1710181094 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Oct 94 p 1

["T.D."-initialed report: "Three Hundred Thousand Metric Tons of Gasoline for Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sources at the PECO [Central for the Sale of Petroleum Products] assert that the lack of gasoline on the domestic market is caused by massive exports to Yugoslavia. Over the past three days, the tanks of oil refineries have been drained. Over 300,000 metric tons of gasoline have left the country, by rail, shipped over the Danube River, or aboard high-capacity tanker trucks (some of which were rented from Hungary.) The same sources also said that the PECO reservoirs will be completely exhausted within the next 36 hours. Besides the crisis thus caused at the gas stations—where queues have been growing visibly—the fuel exports will also affect autumn agricultural work gravely. We have also been informed that the price requested for the exported fuel is 25 percent lower than that on the domestic market, which means that the difference will be paid from our pockets.

We also learned that the oil refineries are currently at a stillstand owing to a lack of crude oil. As a consequence of all this, if no fresh raw material is imported, the crisis will become even more serious over the next days. Again, the government is sacrificing the country's population in exchange for a handful of "dough."

Ethnic Hungarians Complain About Treatment

AU1910074194 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 15-16 Oct 94 p 1

[Report by the RMDSZ: "Provocation, Restoration of Old Ways"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In its statement issued on 11 October, the Executive Board of the platform of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romania] within the Hungarian Initiative in Transylvania [EMK] regards the removal of Hungarian-language signs from the police buildings of

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the two Szekler counties as unfair, provocative, and representing a process of restoring the old ways. The document points out that the government decided to take this step precisely when "the public opinion in Hungary and Romania justifiably expected and expects confidence-building measures from both governments." The document draws the attention to the fact that, in order to provoke and intimidate the ethnic Hungarian population, an increasing number of policemen have been deployed in the two counties in recent months, something that could lead to a change in the ethnic character of the Szekler counties, a practice contradicting the international law and the recognized practice of democratic states. A similar attempt is under way to deploy Romanian Army troops—an infantry unit this time—in Szekelyudvarhely [Odorheiul Secuiesc], although a military unit is already deployed there.

It transpires from the aforementioned statement that the defense minister has already urged to find housing for the officers to be stationed in Udvarhely, while solving the housing demands of 400 locals has been hopeless for years. "The planned deployment of a large number of Romanian policemen and troops in Szeklerland is connected with the recent statements made by State Secretary Pascu, saber-rattling statements threatening the bloc of ethnic Hungarians with military action"—the statement points out, and calls upon the local authorities in Hargita and Kovaszna counties to make use of the legal possibilities and reject the requisition of housing, land, and plots by the Army and the police.

Representatives of the presidiums of RMDSZ organizations in Csik, Gyergyo, Haromszek, and Udvarhely held a meeting in Csikszereda on 12 October and discussed the removal of Hungarian-language signs from the police building and the spreading of Army units in Udvarhely and they outlined their views regarding the further measures.

Salagean Announces New Party in Transylvania

AU1910143794 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 17 Oct 94 p 14

[Report by Marcel Feraru: "A New Party Is Being Set Up in Transylvania: The League of the North"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A new political party is being set up in Transylvania, a party whose leader will be—according to sources in the Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR)—Viorel Salagean [senator for Satu Mare], although, for the time being, he is denying his involvement in the establishment of the party. The emergence of the new grouping has been announced in Satu Mare and it is still surrounded by mystery—the party's founding members being vaguely referred to as "members of parliament, journalists, and businessmen." The new grouping is called the "League of the North."

Viorel Salagean told EVENIMENTUL ZILEI exclusively yesterday that he sympathizes with this movement, and he gave us a few details abut it. In the first stage, local parties will be set up in all the Transylvanian regions, under similar names such as the "League of Maramures," the "League of Bihor," and so forth, which will eventually rally nationwide under the name "the Romanian League."

Quite interesting are the selection criteria for admission to the movement: "The selection will be made on elitist principles," Mr. Viorel Salagean said, "as its members must prove that they deserve to belong to it."

The PUNR senator also said that "the movement's doctrine will be that of the national interest and opening up to the world." He added that attempts will be made to contact all worthy politicians from other political groupings.

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Rose Threatens To Pull UN Troops From DMZ

AU1910091394 Paris AFP in English 0842 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 19 (AFP)—Lieutenant General Michael Rose, the commander of UN troops in Bosnia, has threatened to pull his troops out of the demilitarized zone around Sarajevo if Bosnian soldiers don't pull out from the area.

Rose made the threat Tuesday evening during a meeting with Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic, Tim Spicer, the general's spokesman, said Wednesday.

Several hundred soldiers from the mainly Moslem Bosnian army have positioned themselves in the demilitirized zone overlooking Sarajevo since it was created in August 1993 to separate the army from its Bosnian Serb enemies.

Despite official claims that the army has withdrawn from the region, the UN believes about 500 soldiers remain in the area. One of their commanders, Fikret Prevljak, has refused to leave saying he would take orders from no one.

Bosnian Serbs Deny Attacking UNHCR Convoy

LD1810213294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2122 GMT 18 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army Headquarters Tuesday denied Serbs attacked a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) convoy near Gorazde, eastern Bosnia.

The Army also sharply protested with U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Commander for Bosnia Gen. Michael Rose against such gross and unfounded accusations of Serbs.

The real truth, the Army statement said, is that Muslim forces attacked Bosnian Serb positions from the region of Osanica, 10 km southwest of Gorazde. Serbs returned fire, but two Muslim vehicles happened to be passing and were caught in the crossfire.

UNPROFOR officials in the Muslim town of Gorazde confirmed that the vehicles were not of the UNHCR, but Muslim vehicles passing through the area of conflict, and that the incident occurred outside the 3 km exclusion zone around Gorazde, the statement said.

A number of news agencies reported that a local driver was killed and another wounded Tuesday in an attack on an UNHCR convoy in the town of Osanica and that the local UNPROFOR commander had requested NATO air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions because of the attack.

The latest reports by the British news agency REUTER said the attack was executed by unidentified marksmen who fired from near Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde. UNPROFOR spokesman in Sarajevo Col. Tim Spicer also could not say who fired at the vehicles.

U.N. Spokesman Fred Eckhard said it was believed that Serb forces near Gorazde attacked the UNHCR convoy. Eckhard told a news conference in New York the UNPROFOR commander in the field had requested air strikes, but that his superiors had not followed through the request to the NATO command.

Bosnian Serb positions have been attacked by NATO warplanes on three occasions so far. The first attack took place near Gorazde on April 10 this year, when NATO warplanes hit a neatly marked ambulance, killing two medical aides.

Serbs Refuse Clearances for All UN Convoys

AU1810134894 Paris AFP in English 1335 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Oct 18 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs have hijacked five lorries packed with medical aid near Sarajevo airport and, on Tuesday [18 Oct], were blocking all UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) land convoys, an UNPROFOR spokesman said here.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tim Spicer said the Bosnian Serbs, who surround Sarajevo and control 70 percent of the territory of the former Yugoslav republic, Tuesday rejected all clearances for UNPROFOR convoys. [passage omitted]

Spicer said the Serbs had denied clearance to all 25 convoys which had been due to roll on Tuesday. For several weeks now, the Serbs have been restricting UNPROFOR fuel convoys, reducing their passage to a trickle and forcing UN forces to cut back on fuel consumption. [passage omitted]

Serb Official Views Serb-Croat Confederation

AU1910105694 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 11 Oct 94 pp 6-7

[Interview with Bozidar Vucurevic, Trebinje mayor and deputy in the Bosnian Serb assembly, by Dragisa Skrelic: "We Will Not Cast Stones at Serbia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Contacts With Milosevic

[Skrelic] As we know, you used to have excellent relations with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic? Are you still in touch today, and what are your relations like now?

[Vucurevic] Yes, that is correct. I could just walk into his office every time I was in Belgrade. Others, I observed, had to announce their visit months in advance, and it

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was much harder for them. But I suppose he liked to chat with me, maybe because I always say what is on my mind.

Now, ever since this blockade was introduced, we have not had any contacts. That man of his, [Milorad] Vucelic from their television, he phoned recently to ask me how I was doing.

[Skrelic] Before, when the Vance-Owen plan was rejected, you were seen as the man who would reestablish contacts, the man for political reconciliation. Maybe Vucelic phoned you in order to work out a reconciliation again?

[Vucurevic] That was true after the Vance-Owen plan was rejected. However, it is hard to say what is going on now. They are shrewd people, anything can be true. [passage omitted]

How To Get to the Sea

[Skrelic] The sea is just around the corner for you, but it is hard to get to it. How and when will the Srpska republic have access to the sea?

[Vucurevic] These various contact groups will have to offer us that, I suppose. My personal view is that we should ask for our part of the coast in Neum. If we are to divide everything by half, then, my gentlemen, we Serbs have to get 12 kilometers of the coast in Neum. Of course, then the Croats will have to give us some kind of a corridor near Dubrovnik. If they do not like that idea, then they can tell us what they offer in exchange, and we can reach an agreement. I know for a fact that they will then try and convince us to take a part of the coast from Prevlaka to Molunat and Popovici, that is, Konavli.

[Skrelic] How will the Montenegrin leadership and political parties react to all this. They consider Herzegovina to be a natural part of Montenegro. One can also hear from some Montenegrin officials that Serbian Herzegovina will at one point be annexed to Montenegro.

[Vucurevic] That is just wishful thinking, as our people would say. Nobody will annex us to anything. That is nonsense. Herzegovina is a region of the created Srpska republic, and it is doing just fine, thank you. And, God willing, the world will have to recognize us sooner or later.

Anyway, my feelings are the same when it comes to Serbia. In my view, we first have to insist on the recognition of the sovereign Srpska republic, which the world will recognize in writing. As for with whom we will later form federal or confederal ties, we will cross that bridge when we come to it. We might form some kind of a confederation with Croatia.

Why With Croatia?

[Skrelic] This idea of yours might appear shocking to some. Are you joking, or do you really have any grounds for such a statement?

[Vucurevic] Everything is possible these days. This about Croatia is no joke. You see, there are at least three valid reasons why we could form a confederation with the Croats. The first one is that both countries, the Srpska republic and Croatia, do not want communism ever again, in any shape or form, socialism, social realism, or whatever. Never again. The second reason is that both the Srpska republic and Croatia are afraid of some third Yugoslavia. It would be a new grave for the Serbian people. And the third reason is that both they and we suffer from a low birthrate.

[Skrelic] This theory of yours will cause various reactions. How do you think will official Croatia react?

[Vucurevic] I think its reaction will be favorable. In any case, they will not reject this idea outright.

[Skrelic] You seem to have an insight into the aspirations of the Croats in Bosnia and Croatia.

[Vucurevic] I can tell you openly that I used to be able to arrange many things with Mate Boban, even though we were at war. They do not like the Muslims, do not be silly. The Americans and the Germans have applied pressure on them so they are in big trouble. They will part ways very soon, and that is a good thing, too. That should suit us so that we can also sort out the Muslims once and for all. You see, to have anything to do with the Muslims is like dealing with the devil himself. Let me tell you: This war with them, it is no longer only a religious, ethnic, and civil war, or whatever they call it. This is a civilizational war. This miserable Islam, this civilization of theirs is about to explode. The way they breed, you cannot even count them. Their birthrate, God help us all! And they have no land or country of their own. That is why the Croats are afraid of being with them. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Comments on Alterations to Peace Plan

LD1810182994 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Srpska republic President Radovan Karadzic and his aides, accompanied by Colonel General Milan Gvero and Col. Gen. Momir Talic, Major General Bogdan Subotic, and Velibor Ostojic, yesterday visited fighters on the southern borders of the Srpska republic in Vlasic. Later, he also visited the municipality of Knezevo. Zorica Lalic has the report:

[Lalic] Srpska republic President Radovan Karadzic today [as heard] visited units of the Serb army in Vlasic. He was accompanied by Col. Gen. Milan Gvero, deputy chief of General Staff of the Army of the Srpska republic, and Col. Gen. Momir Talic, commander of the First Krajina Corps.

Following his visit to the units, President Radovan Karadzic said at the transmitter, the republic's highest summit, that Vlasic is Serbian and will remain Serbian.

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Describing Vlasic as a strategically important location, our president stressed the importance of this mountain, which affords control over central Bosnia and its communications, and said that in no circumstances can Vlasic be negotiable.

Surrounded by an authentic wartime environment, Radovan Karadzic voiced his predictions as to what might take place in the near future in the international context in the wake of the Serb's No to the peace plan for ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Karadzic recording] We expect, we have received, some signals through our contacts with the countries involved. We believe that some alterations to the plan are being worked out. It is now being hinted at only in the sphere of constitutional organization, something we do not find sufficient. In other words, the confederal link with Yugoslavia must imply that we are a sovereign state, and that Yugoslavia is a sovereign state.

If this is to be some kind of regional grouping, such as Alpe-Adria, then we are not going to accept it since this would be too little for us. Namely, we want to make sure that our links to Yugoslavia are stronger than our links to the Croat-Muslim federation, if there are any links at all. I personally believe that there is no need for any kind of union, not even a union of sovereign states, because we simply do not need each other. Our children will, perhaps, trade and cooperate, but for the time being we must secure firm borders. [end recording]

[Lalic] Facing Muslim positions and speaking about the policy of the Muslim leadership of ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina, Radovan Karadzic, the president of our republic, aired his suspicion about any shifts taking place in it as long as the Americans fail to withdraw their present support:

[Begin Karadzic recording] Well, whoever supports them and encourages them to take the whole of Bosnia is clearly destroying them. Along the Una River, I saw some of the evidence of their tremendous casualties. They are losing their children for no reason whatsoever. They are used to losing up to 40 people in one day alone. This is something the Muslim people, Muslim mothers, must know; they must know that someone is leading them to a disaster that will come to nothing.

They would be better off if they turned toward a political solution, so we could put an immediate end to the war and reach an agreement on the territories. Whether any change will take place on their side, I do not know. I think that on no account will the Serbs and the Croats accept any kind of union in Bosnia-Herzegovina that would resemble any kind of firmer links, let alone to have this union as a state. Consequently, the Muslims stand no chance of carrying out their plans. They must reduce their plans and be satisfied with what makes the Serbs and the Croats satisfied, i.e., with one part of Bosnia-Herzegovina where they can set up their own state. If they carry on, they will lose everything. They will get no state. I often contemplate, I believe that this is precisely what someone in the world wants: the Serbs and the Croats to exterminate the Muslims so there is no Muslim state in Europe. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Against Izetbegovic in Group

LD1810170694 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, last night in Banja Luka discussed the statutory and financial problems of the Banja Luka University with its rectors and lecturers. [passage omitted]

Radovan Karadzic said in Banja Luka last night that he has no objections to Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman taking part in the work of the Contact Group, if that is part of the peace process leading toward a normalization of the overall Croatian-Serbian issue.

Karadzic said this in response to the latest diplomatic initiative by French Foreign Minister Juppe, who yesterday announced the possibility of the presidents of Serbia and Croatia and Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic taking part in the work of the Contact Group. We have, however, serious objection to Izetbegovic working with the Contact Group, because he does not represent the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but only part of the Muslims. Consequently, we will not accept the results of such negotiations, not attended by representatives of the Serbian and Croatian peoples from the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said.

Silajdzic, EU Parliament Delegation Hold Talks

AU1810165194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 94

[Report by Suzana Djogo]

[FBIS Translated Text] Republican and Federal Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic today received a European Parliament delegation led by Jose Maria Mendelusa. They discussed Bosnia-Herzegovina's integration into the European Union, the European Parliament's humanitarian help, and the European Union's initiatives regarding a just solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. After the talks, Prime Minister Silajdzic and Mr. Mendelusa made statements for the press. Suzana Djogo reports:

[Djogo] Mr. Jose Maria Mendelusa, head of the European Parliament's delegation, expressed his satisfaction with the visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the meeting with Prime Minister Silajdzic, and said that they came to Sarajevo to get first hand account of the situation from the Bosnian authorities and political parties and find out how they see the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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Mr. Mendelusa stressed that they shared our views and anxiety, and that they hold the view that the European Union must initiate the right solutions for Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are not sure that what has been done so far is correct, Mendelusa said, adding that they would therefore insist on the solution that would facilitate the protection of democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina and not reward the aggressor and the war crimes that have been committed here for more than two years.

Addressing journalists, Prime Minister Silajdzic expressed satisfaction with the European parliamentarians' visit, as well as surprise at the (?speed) with which the European Parliament reacted.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] They sent a delegation here to attend a session of our parliament. However, as you know, the session of our parliament has been postponed. They came here nevertheless.

On the other hand, they asked the European Commission to send an expert group here so that we can discuss programs that will practically reintegrate Bosnia-Herzegovina into Europe. This was our request. While the war is still going on, [Silajdzic changes his thought] we cannot wait for the end of the war. We must return to Europe in the way we can. The European Parliament and the European Commission can help us in this. Therefore, this expert team will come, and I hope that we will discuss a draft agreement between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the European Union. [end recording]

[Djogo] Talks with the European parliamentarians also focused on humanitarian issues, Prime Minister Silajdzic said. Europe was asked to help to place natural gas, power, and water in Sarajevo—which are in the aggressor's hand and which he is using as political instruments to blackmail—under international control. Fresh humanitarian aid was also requested as the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] has reduced the amounts of food [words indistinct]. We also discussed the peace process, Prime Minister Silajdzic said and added:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] The (?current) situation, which no one can deny, is that the international community is maintaining the status quo in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In other words, it is maintaining the present situation through the mandate of the United Nations, which is such that [word indistinct]. This is a strategy of (?Belgrade). Belgrade's strategy is [words indistinct] in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the freezing of the situation.

On the other hand, we have the gradual lifting of the sanctions that were introduced on Belgrade. This is Belgrade's second line of strategy. Therefore, we have two lines of Belgrade's strategy, something that the international community is (?approving). This is the freezing of the situation in Bosnia and the lifting of the sanctions introduced against Belgrade. The international community is becoming accustomed to the idea of accepting what the enemy has conquered through genocide. This ultimately amounts to the division of Bosnia. This is the basic problem. We want the European Parliament and the European Commission to help us in this. Judging by the reaction that we can see, we can say that we are on the right track, and that the European Parliament considers us a democratic country [words indistinct] democratic government and that we will continue in the same way. [end recording]

EU Warned of New Croat-Bosniak Conflicts

AU1810202994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 94

[Report by Omer Vatric from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Text] East Mostar Mayor Safet Orucevic has sent an open letter to EU Administrator Mr. Hans Koschnick in which he drew his attention to the slow pace in the opening of Mostar and the removal of obstructions from the western part of Mostar, as well as the illogical moves by the EU administration, which, instead of embarking on complete projects of restoring and connecting the town, is starting to finance partial projects in two parts of the town, thus contributing to its division.

He mentioned as an example the project of renewing the town's transportation enterprise, Vodovod [water company], the PTT [post, telegraph, and telephone], and communal enterprises that are separately being financed from the EU funds in the east and west of Mostar.

Mayor Orucevic holds the view that the leadership in the west part of Mostar does not want Mostar to be opened according to the jointly signed memorandum of understanding. It is therefore necessary to solve this issue at the highest state level.

For this reason, the mayor of the east part of Mostar, as N.N. [as heard] stated on local radio, has invited Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to visit Mostar, stressing that his arrival in Mostar is expected in the near future.

In his letter to the public, Orucevic warned that the stand of the Croatian leadership hitherto could lead to new conflicts between the Croats and the Bosniak Muslims.

Bosnian Army Reports 'Noose' Around Teslic

AU1910095894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Oct 94

[Report by the Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 3rd Corps]

[FBIS Translated Text] Every day the noose around Teslic is getting tighter and tighter, while the Husar facility remains the biggest thorn in the side of the chetnik strategists.

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Yesterday's artillery and infantry attack started at 1100 with a tank from [word indistinct] and a (T-1) gun from (Veliki) [word indistinct]. Following six hours of fighting the defenders of Husar successfully repulsed the enemy, killing six of his men, and wounding another 15. Two of our fighters were lightly wounded.

The chetniks suffered another defeat on the Serici front. The attack started at 1000 along the (Branilovac) [word indistinct], with strong artillery support. The only outcome of this chetnik attack was a waste of shells, which barely damaged the defense fortifications. The crushed infantry returned to their warlords much fewer in number.

As for the Zavidovici front, the aggressor was (fortifying) his lines intensively [words indistinct].

UNHCR To Cut Back Food Supplies to Serbs

LD1810212194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2105 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—A spokesperson for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] said Tuesday the UNHCR office in Belgrade was cutting back on food deliveries to the Bosnian Serbs.

Spokesperson Yoko Nishimura said the agency had already slashed relief aid to barely one-third to what it was in 1993.

The UNHCR office in Belgrade said its decision was based on reports from the ground, and gave three reasons for the planned cut-back, which should affect primarily the eastern part of the Bosnian Serb republic.

Nishimura said the first reason was that there was no longer the same urgency about the situation as there had been when the war operations in the area were at their height.

Another reason, she said, was that the harvest was very good, the arable land was under cultivation and there were other sources of food now open.

The third reason she gave was that donations to the UNHCR had dwindled considerably.

Nishimura also said the economic blockade imposed on the Bosnian Serbs by the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro was impeding overland humanitarian deliveries across the border on the Drina River.

Yugoslavia clamped the blockade in early August, when the Bosnian Serbs rejected the international 'contact group' plan for dividing Bosnia. Humanitarian deliveries are exempted from the blockade.

Nishimura said the UNHCR had appealed to the international mission of civilians monitoring the border to intercede with Yugoslav authorities to enlarge the list of humanitarian goods.

She said blankets, mattresses, sleeping bags, tents, cookers, plywood, candles and plumbing fixtures and fittings should be added to the list.

Nishimura said the UNHCr had sent a request (?to) the U.N. sanctions committee to approve additional fuel imports.

She said the UNHCR had supplied fuel to 15 hospitals in Bosnian Serb territory in 1993, but was not likely to be in a position to deliver any fuel this year unless the sanctions committee approved the request.

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Tudjman Changes Deputy Finance Ministers

LD1710190894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has decided—on the basis of Article 42, Paragraph 2 of the Law on the State Administration System—the following:

Jure Brajkovic has been relieved of his duty as deputy finance minister in charge of the monetary and banking system, as he is taking up another post;

Ante Colic has been relieved of his duty as deputy finance minister in charge of the customs system and prevention policies, as he is taking up another post; and

Zvonimir Leko has been relieved of his duty as deputy finance minister in charge of the hard currency system and the hard currency inspectorate, as he is taking up another post.

Ivan Novacic has been appointed deputy finance minister in charge of the economy.

Niko Rajic has been appointed deputy finance minister in charge of preparing and consolidating the budget.

Ivica Smiljan has been appointed deputy finance minister in charge of the hard currency and banking system and the insurance system.

Ante Kapulica has been appointed deputy finance minister in charge of information technology and acquisitions.

These decisions take effect immediately.

Iranian Ambassador, Mate Granic Discuss Ties

LD1910110894 Tehran IRNA in English 1030 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct. 19, IRNA—Iran's Ambassador to Croatia Mohammad Javad Asayesh discussed expansion of bilateral ties with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic here Tuesday.

The ambassador appreciated Granic's efforts to identify and arrest those involved in the assassination of the Iranian journalist Hoseyn Navab. The Iranian journalist was kidnapped in Mostar in late August and later killed by the Bosnian Croats.

Granic, also deputy prime minister of Croatia, said his country attached great importance to the promotion of ties with Iran. He said his country would spare no effort to expand and further upgrade mutual relations with the Islamic Republic.

Valentic Satisfied With Iran Pact To Buy Ships

LD1810164194 Tehran IRNA in English 1410 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, 18 Oct (IRNA)—Croatian Prime Minister, Nikica Valentic, in Zagreb Monday [17 Oct] expressed satisfaction with the agreement according to which Iran is to buy four ships from Croatia.

Valentic in a meeting with Iran's ambassador to Croatia, Mohammad Javad Asayesh, also called for promotion of Tehran-Zagreb Economic ties.

Asayesh said that Iran's road and transport minister is to visit Croatia in the near future.

The deal was signed between the two countries during Valentic visit to Tehran early this year.

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First Results Give Gligorov 'Commanding Lead'

AU1810181594 Paris AFP in English 1739 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Oct 18 (AFP)—Outgoing Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov established a commanding lead in the first round of voting in the presidential election on Sunday, according to the first official results.

The Electoral Commission said on Tuesday it had received figures so far from only 37 of the country's 120 constituencies. These showed Gligorov had won almost 50 percent of the votes cast compared with less than 15 percent for his rival.

The figures were: Gligorov 231,234 (49.97 percent of registered electors). Ljubisa Georgijevski 67,273 (14.54 percent). In the 37 constituencies a total of 462,764 people were entitled to vote. The commission did not give details of the turn-out.

To be elected in the first round Gligorov needs to win the backing of more than 50 percent of the total electorate, or about 690,000 votes.

In legislative elections, also held Sunday, the ruling coalition has already won seven parliamentary seats and the party of the Albanian minority (the Democratic Prosperity Party) one seat.

The Alliance for Macedonia, the ruling coalition of three left- wing parties, claimed to be in the lead in 85 constituencies in the legislative contest and to have won 13 of the country's 120 seats. It put the turnout at 73.05 percent, or 1,007,162 voters.

On Monday two opposition parties, the extreme-right nationalist VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization- Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity] and the centrist Democratic Party claimed that there had been many irregularities in the poll and threatened to boycott the second round unless the first round were cancelled.

The Electoral Commission ruled that a withdrawal by the two parties would be illegal because the law required that 15 days' notice had to be given before they could stand down.

Election Committee Results

AU1810191294 Skopje MIC in English 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] At the press conference, the State Election Committee presented the initial results from the elections for president and the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] in 37 out of the total of 120 electoral units.

According to these results, 424,857 voters are listed in these electoral units, and 37,902 voters who were not on the electoral rolls voted with documents. A total of 330,195 people voted. 26,064 invalid and 304,131 valid ballot papers were counted.

As for the elections for deputies, no specific results were given, but it was said that nine candidates from the Alliance for Macedonia have gained entry to the parliament [word indistinct] in the first round. [passage omitted]

Alliance Presents Results

AU1810192694 Skopje MIC in English 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] At the press conference held today, the Alliance for Macedonia presented results from the presidential and parliamentary elections in 92 percent of the electoral units, which were obtained from the computer center of the Election Headquarters of the Alliance.

According to this information, out of the total number of listed voters (approximately 1,360,000), 1,007,162 voted, which represents 73.05 percent of the listed citizens. This number, as the head of the Election Headquarters of the Alliance said, can vary as some citizens voted with the necessary documents and were not found on the rolls, while they were already listed in them, but in another polling station. This occurs, according to the explanation, as the citizens moved from one place to another. According to this information, 13 representatives of the Alliance for Macedonia have entered parliament in the first round. The Alliance has 85 first places, 7 second places, and 6 third places.

Information about the other parties [words indistinct] presented at the press conference, according to which VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] has won 6 places, holds 40 second places, and 28 third places. The Democratic Party does not have any first places has 28 second places, and 32 third places.

According to this information, 283,00 citizens voted for the Alliance for Macedonia, some 122,000 citizens voted for the VMRO- DPMNE, and 97,000 citizens voted for the Democratic Party.

As regards the presidential candidates, it was said that in those 92 percent of the electoral units, 643,627 voters voted for Kiro Gligorov, and 18.9 percent voted for Ljubisa Georgievski. [passage omitted]

CSCE Suggests Corrections for Second Round

AU1810183594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONJA in Macedonian 18 Oct 94 p 1

["J.M."-attributed report on news conference by CSCE delegation; place and date not given: "A Step Further Toward Democracy"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] "The elections in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], although not perfect, certainly represent a further step toward the democratization of our country," Spain's Xavier Ruperes [name as published], head of the CSCE delegation in Macedonia, emphasized at yesterday's news conference. Representatives from nine countries, assisted by advisers from Turkey, Ukraine, and the United States, visited 100 election stations yesterday and held a number of meetings with members of the government, parliament, and the political parties in Macedonia, as well as with representatives of the national minorities, the CSCE mission, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and members of the diplomatic offices in the country.

At a meeting with correspondents, Mr. Ruperes indicated that the delegation believes that "the old election system, which was based on the old law, could depict better the interests of the population in Macedonia if it was improved with parts of the proportional system."

He also emphasized that although they do not like to interfere in the internal affairs of a country, they could suggest that it would be worthwhile if the old election law was replaced with a new one. The remarks were mainly referring to the problems concerning citizenship and the incomplete and inappropriate election lists. It was pointed out that the CSCE delegation cannot conclude that these irregularities were intended to serve any particular political interest of the ruling parties; however, as he emphasized, it is very important to avoid these regularities during the second round of elections on 30 October. When the correspondents asked him if it was possible to be completed in such a short time, Ruperes replied: "It can and must be done because today's electronic techniques can perform miracles and the lists can be corrected in 48 hours. The Macedonian Government is capable of these technical possibilities. The corrections must be done in order to consider the elections fair and free."

He answered a number of questions concerning the problems faced by Albanians: "The irregularities were equal referring all citizens of Macedonia—for the Macedonians, the Albanians, and all the others."

The CSCE delegation assessed that in general, the media were open to all political parties for a impartial presentation of their views and stances, although some of their remarks, as it was said, could not be fully rejected.

Gosev: DP Will Ask For First Round Annulment

AU1810172994 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Oct 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Conditions for Participation in the Second Round"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Party [DP] will ask the authorities to annul the first round of elections. It will also require the updating of the electoral rolls and the organization of fair and honest elections. If the requests are not met, then there is no sense in our further participation in the elections. This was stated by the DP President Petar Gosev at yesterday's news conference. He also called the elections inconsistent and a state manipulation. According to Gosev, the DP has proof of a mass violation of the Law on Election Stations, starting from a redefinition of election stations, and this can only be considered by the national assembly. There have been registered forgeries in the election lists, in the selection of voters, and failures in the Republican Department for statistics and the Interior Ministry, Gosev said, and then he listed the violations in the election process: numerous voters who voted without identification, many foreigners who voted after presenting documents that stated "citizenship certificate is in preparation," and the untimely and incomplete invitations.... Due to all this, Gosev said, there is a great many citizens who have not used their right to vote, and therefore the legitimacy of the elections is at stake. The DP is planning a series of activities to reveal the manipulations to the citizens, and they have scheduled a meeting on the large Makedonija Square in Skopje, a meeting with other political parties.

Gosev assessed the evaluations of the international observers as superficial impressions.

VMRO-DPMNE Threatens To Withdraw

AU1810180794 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Oct 94 p 2

["L.K."-attributed report on news conference by the VMRO- DPMNE; place and date not given: "A Request for Abating the Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "As a party that has together with the Democratic Party been the unique opposition parties that have entered the second round of elections, we the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] proclaim the elections to be an insolent forgery of the communists of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] and a discredit to the Macedonian state and Macedonian democracy. We consider the elections to be irregular; thus, we ask that they be abated. We have already submitted an official request to the State Election Commission regarding the presidential and parliamentary elections. We request the formation of a professional government that will implement fair elections. We have scheduled a meeting on this topic in the main square "Macedonia" in Skopje on 19 October at 1800. We believe that many opposition parties will join us, as well as copious citizens that were prevented from voting in the elections." These were the words of VMRO-DPMNE President Ljupco Georgievski at yesterday's news conference where, in the presence of a large number of foreign and domestic correspondents, he announced that if the elections are not annulled, they will withdraw from the second round of elections. "We shall congratulate the Macedonian

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communists for their first parliament composed of 100-percent communists, which will be a wonderful characteristic of the Macedonian state and its democracy. In spite of the fact that we are entering the second round in more than 90 election stations, the forgeries are more than evident and we do not intend to participate in such a political scandal."

The correspondents were given detailed explanations on how, in their opinion, the authorities had broken the election rules. He said that they informed the voters in a "circus-like" manner, that the second big failure was related to the election lists, for which Administration Minister Tuse Gosev was directly accused, and he particularly stressed the problem that occurred after the party controllers were driven away from the election posts. The VMRO- DPMNE believes that the main manipulating was not carried out by the State Election Commission but by the government.

Demands Committee's Resignation

AU1810200594 Skopje MIC in English 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] representative in the State Election Committee (SEC) Aleksandar Dinevski stated at the press conference held tonight that he has asked the entire SEC to resign due to the overall chaos and confusion during the elections and now, during the determination of the results. He added that the SEC has no moral credibility to continue the work in the second round of elections.

Aleksandar Dinevski also informed that the SEC reviewed and rejected his request. In view of this, Mr. Dinevski asserted that the SEC is an extended hand of the Alliance for Macedonia.

Opposition To Demonstrate Against 'Irregularities'

AU1910120294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Macedonian opposition, led by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity—VMRO-DPMNE—will organize a meeting this evening to protest alleged gross irregularities in the parliamentary and presidential elections.

Even though the elections in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] were held on 16 October, the state commission has not yet issued any substantial information about the results of the voting, which the opposition claims was mainly yrigged.

Gligorov, VMRO-DPMNE Policies Contrasted

AU1410141594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 13 Oct 94 p 5

[Editorial by Georgi Ajanovski: "For and Against Gligorov]

[FBIS Translated Text] The period before the elections, which is usually used for the formation of voters' opinions, has been filled with the views and stances of Macedonian politicians on the domestic and foreign policy of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] to date and on its future prospects. Generally speaking, without trying to ignore the various views of this policy, we have been basically offered two opposing concepts, which rule out any possibility of misinterpretation, hesitation, or dubious ideas about the future development of Macedonia.

The first of these is represented by the three coalition partners, the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia], the LP [Liberal Party], and the SP [Socialist Party], which have joined forces under the name "Alliance for Macedonia" and are headed by presidential candidate Kiro Gligorov. It is based on the political strategy so far, which is considered successful, stable, affirmed, and internationally supported. The idea is that, with some minor changes, it can guarantee the final democratic transformation of Macedonian society, the final accomplishment of Macedonia's international recognition, and the consolidation of its independence.

The other concept is advocated by its main rival, the VMRO-DPMME [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], which has recently had support from Petar Gosev's influential Democratic Party, as well as from some other minor parties of the so-called "Macedonian nationalist bloc." It is totally opposed to the Macedonian political strategy to date, saying that it is a failure, a mistake, an improvisation, essentially "non-national," and that it has caused irreparable damage to Macedonia and its interests. However, in their accusations and demands for the abandonment of this policy there lacks a precise platform with their policies and suggested solutions. It looks as if Gligorov's opponents at this stage are more concerned with how to disqualify and replace him, and only then would they devise a program to be implemented.

Between Peace and War

It is particularly characteristic of the campaign against Gligorov that it is being conducted at a time when his policy has international support, and when Macedonia's position is being assessed as constructive, positive, and exemplary for the creation of new Balkan relations.

Of what are his opponents accusing him and what alternatives are they offering for political life in Macedonia?

As we know, there were differences over the basic Macedonian political strategy regarding Macedonian independence at the time when the SFR Yugoslavia began to collapse. Gligorov, who at that time had the support of Petar Gosev, the leader of the SKM-PDP [The League of Communists of Macedonia-Party for

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Democratic Prosperity] opted for a "step by step" policy for peaceful and gradual independence, by conducting patient negotiations, aware that the violent secession of Macedonia could result in serious consequences for its future destiny. In doing so, he had in mind the experiences of Slovenia, and particularly Croatia, where the price for independence was paid in blood and destruction (and some territories were also lost), but he also took into consideration Macedonia's circumstances, that is the neighboring states with their open territorial designs on it, as well as the presence of the JNA's [Yugoslav People's Army] large military forces concentrated on its territories. A possible conflict with the JNA could have led to foreign interference and to a war in which Macedonia could have lost everything.

Gligorov's opponents, members of the VMRO-DPMNE at that time, publicly accused Gligorov for being hesitant and unprepared to struggle for Macedonia's independence. They demanded a violent secession from Yugoslavia, they wanted to expel the JNA from Macedonia immediately, and they called for the immediate proclamation of Macedonia's independence. They claimed that the Croatian recipe should be applied, that there can be "no independence without bloodshed," and they even negotiated with some Croatian military circles on planning the "liberation of Macedonia." The motive of these circles was to spread the war to the south in order to weaken the JNA militarily in Croatia.

As a matter of fact these two platforms: "Peace is the most important thing for Macedonia" (Gligorov) and "Independence requires victims" were later on promoted into two political tendencies on the Macedonian political international and domestic scene.

Macedonia In or Out of the United Nations?

This was particularly expressed at the time of the referendum on Macedonia's independence, when the VMRO-DPMNE refused to support joining the United Nations in parliament (with the thesis that it was a trick played on Macedonia's national interests), as well as at the time the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia was being passed, when the party refused to accept it, accusing Gligorov of planting a "cuckoo's egg" on the Macedonian people.

Macedonian policy is defined in international circles as a policy of peace and principles, which is oriented toward Europe and is constructive in its relations with neighbors, but its opponents in Macedonia say that it is a catastrophe for the interests of the Macedonian state. They even think that the historic moment when Macedonia was admitted to the United Nations was a great mistake, explaining that by being admitted under the provisional name of FYROM the national dignity was sold out.

Their position was definitive: Let us refuse this humiliating admission to the United Nations, break off all further international negotiations about the recognition of Macedonia, and insist on the slogan that Macedonia can survive and continue to struggle for the truth even if it is not recognized by the international community.

The statements that "Macedonia can survive even without the world" recalled the Serbian "if necessary, we will eat roots".

What would have been the fate of unrecognized Macedonia, with war raging on the territory of former Yugoslavia and with the real possibility of it spreading south? It is not difficult to make prognoses now, looking back from this perspective, but it is a fact that with the admission to the United Nations, with broad international recognition (so far it has been recognized by over 80 countries), and after a 1,000-year struggle, the Macedonian state has become effectively independent and a member of the world family of states and nations. It is a clearly defined and internationally verified state with its territorial integrity and it is included in the collective security systems of the world's organization. With this act, the international community has indirectly recognized and annulled one of the mistakes of the Bucharest Agreement, and thus it has raised the question of the validity of other parts of this agreement.

What Kind of Policy Toward our Neighbors?

Gligorov's opponents are particularly unhappy with his policy toward our neighbors, saying that the principle of equal distance is not acceptable, inconsistent, and harmful for Macedonia. They say that it is not in the state's interest to have equal treatment toward all the neighboring countries, as some of them must have priority in cooperation and friendship, because, they say, it is with them that we have natural and historical friendships. Some are advocating that such priority should be given to relations with Yugoslavia and Serbia, others Bulgaria, while others, considering the number of Albanians in Macedonia, prefer Albania. Apparently, the principle of equal distance, which actually implies equally friendly relations with all neighbors and open borders throughout the Balkans, in view of the tragic historical experiences of various Balkan alliances and divisions, always made at the expense of the Macedonian people and its territory, is now being deliberately misinterpreted as a policy of distancing and the self-isolation of Macedonia, and not as a principled aspiration and willingness for equal, sincere, and friendly relations with all our neighbors.

The intention to abandon this principle and accept the thesis on special relations and friendships, for instance with Serbia, Bulgaria, or Albania, or with any other country in our neighborhood, will certainly lead to further stimulation of the present inter- neighbor mistrust, which will dangerously poison and burden overall relations in the Balkans and can promote old Balkan suspicions of unbalanced equality and new alliances at the expense of third countries. We must not forget that Macedonia has always come to a bad end when placed in the role of a "bone of contention" and that, even today,

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most of its neighbors cannot yet decide how to react to its independence, state, and nationality. Only a naive political analyst or people with bad intentions cannot or would not like to see the mistakes and risks of such new political adventurism.

What Does the Thesis on "Reciprocity" Offer?

Another strong accusation that is daily used against "Gligorov's" foreign policy (although it is also the official Macedonian state position) is the dispute with Greece, the negotiations, and ways to find a solution. This criticism is usually contained in the slogans "Gligorov has sold out our name" or "Gligorov is bargaining with Macedonia!" The main argument here is the provisional name under which our state has been admitted to the United Nations, as well as the great foreign speculation, particularly in the Greek mass media, that in the negotiations so far, or in future ones, there will be defined and accepted a new name for Macedonia.

We can fully understand the interests and concerns of the Macedonian public concerning the outcome of these difficult negotiations with Greece and the way in which this could be resolved, particularly if the price of compromise would be to change the name or something similar. In such a case, it is sure that not only some political parties, but also the whole public headed by parliament would react in an appropriate manner. However, the problem is that so far not a single fact has been mentioned, or any official or even semi-official statement by any Macedonian politician that it is an advantage if we give up our name, or that the Macedonian side in the negotiations is even considering this possibility.

On the contrary, ever since the start of the international recognition of Macedonia, the first man in the Macedonian state has clearly stated this: "We shall never under any condition give up our name, the name of Macedonia!" and that "without its name Macedonia would be actually lost."

Gligorov himself, let us recall, has publicly stated that "nobody except the Macedonian people has the right or authority in Macedonia to decide the name of the state."

What reason is there to call him a "traitor" or to say that Macedonian foreign policy is "a catastrophe"? Is it because there is a wish to look for a solution to the present dispute with or without mediation? Is it because there is the idea that the normalization of relations with Greece is in the interest of both the countries and in general? Can it be because there is the belief that such misunderstandings can be overcome through dialogue, without disturbing or imperiling Macedonian national or state interests? The behavior of Macedonian foreign policy is another matter. It is very cautious and careful. The fact that the circle that is conducting the negotiations is a narrow circle presents possibilities for speculation and suspicions about the contents of the negotiations and the public is often right to be disappointed, but all this is far from the categorical accusations that "someone is bargaining over Macedonia" or that "Macedonia is going to be faced with black times."

It would be interesting if the opponents of the present Macedonian foreign policy could explain how they would have conducted the negotiations with Greece and what their idea is for solving the dispute. The thesis of the "policy of reciprocity," although sometimes attractive and logical in the sense of "if they can, why cannot we?" will suit the feelings of every individual concerning relations among states. Thinking about the world's experiences this seems to be filled with remnants from the past and it is reminiscent of the Cold War period. Its logic is: "As much damage to us, the same damage to them." This means: We should respond to the Greek embargo with an embargo against Greece; let us close our borders to the south; they turn back our citizens from the border, let us forbid theirs to enter Macedonia (including our own Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia); they are organizing trials for Macedonians without giving them rights, let us do the same to their citizens, and so on. The conclusion is—Greece does not recognize us, so let us not recognize Greece. Let the world see that we are not so unimportant!

Salvation in the Balkan Right Wing

Some time ago a thesis was announced: If we overthrow Gligorov (as a former communist and a present social democrat), if Papandreou the socialist is overthrown, if Milosevic the socialist is replaced, if the same thing happens in Bulgaria and throughout the Balkans, then the right will come to power and this is the formula and the solution for the Macedonia-Greek dispute and for peace in the Balkans. The thesis is that they would then find a common language and would not have any difficulties in signing an agreement on a new Balkan policy. This is how we can soon have "united states of the united Balkan right wings!" All very simple! An alliance of the same "close and friendly forces" that have been rivals in past Balkan wars to see who "loves and kisses poor Macedonia the most." This is a extremely interesting idea, one that will probably become true one day and then it will most probably compete for the Nobel Prize for Declaring War for Peace!

A National or A Civil State?

In the domain of domestic policy there is still strong confrontation over a civil versus a national character for the state, and there are various theses on how to deal with inter-ethnic relations or the status of the minorities. Although the Constitution clearly portrays these relations within a modern, democratic concept on human rights and freedoms, as well as on minority rights, as they are interpreted in practice, they are intentionally vulgarized in favor of various daily political interests with a tendency to present the civil model as a antinational, artificial, and inconsistent for the Macedonian situation because, they claim, it wipes out and ignores the national characteristics of the state and because it implies the permanent danger of inter-ethnic conflicts. That is why they ask for a change in the Constitution and for the establishment of a pure Macedonian national state as

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expressed in the slogan "Macedonia for the Macedonians," according to which national minorities would be granted only those rights that belong to them as citizens of the state, ignoring the multi-ethnic realities that have existed in and characterized Macedonian society for centuries.

Unfortunately, as a counterbalance to these theses there has appeared nationalist extremism from some Albanian parties that wish to promote the minority rights of the Albanians to the extent that they become a constituent nation in Macedonia, aspiring to federalization. In this context they have proclaimed the autonomy of "Ilirida," implemented illegal referenda, and even prepared violent separatist activities.

These nationalist tendencies are the greatest danger to the internal stability of Macedonia and for its democratization, because of which there is a great number of international associations that are ready to invest great efforts to find democratic solutions. Their general assessment is that Macedonia, with all its controversies, has succeeded in finding a model that has relaxed the inter-ethnic tensions and that the principles of inter-ethnic coexistence and tolerance, of democratic and institutional solutions of problems, must be further affirmed and consolidated.

Coexistence—Reality or Utopia?

Gligorov's opponents do not accept such a model and they proclaim it as a failed experiment that, for daily political exigencies, is sacrificing Macedonia's national interests and will lead Macedonia to catastrophe. They even accuse him of having already "accepted and of being engaged in the federalization of the state" and of "destroying the national dignity." He has rejected these accusations at numerous rallies by indicating that the census, which has shown 67 percent of the population to be Macedonians, represents the best rebuttal of such speculation.

But is this resolve for coexistence an invention or a mistake of present policy?

We must remember that Macedonia has succeeded in maintaining and breeding the principles of coexistence over the centuries, and in holding on to them as the greatest achievements of Ilinden [first Macedonian insurrection in 1903], the Krusevo Manifest [appeal for insurrection], and the ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Alliance of National Liberation of Macedonia] proclamation. In the past four years of general nationalist Balkan nonsense it did not permit them to be destroyed and that enabled the Macedonian state to avoid inter- ethnic conflicts and bloodshed and to safeguard peace and stability. This is why we have the right to ask: What are the reasons for mistrusting coexistence? The adventures of inter-ethnic passions and their intensification has cost many of our neighboring states dearly. Does Macedonia have to take this road and where can it lead? The question is not whether somebody likes Gligorov or not, whether he is old or young, whether he sympathizes with this or that party, but whether the principles of the policy that he is advocating as president of the state and "with the approval of the parliament" is producing results, offering solutions for the problems faced by Macedonia, providing understanding in the international community, and promising further prosperity.

The criticisms against Gligorov's policy and principles, against his practical achievements and results, are unquestionably an integral part of democratic life and it is the duty of the opposition to use arguments and facts in its struggle for its political projects. Clinton is also being accused, as well as Yeltsin, Mitterrand, and every other statesman at home. The idea of a democratic struggle is to oppose views, projects, and ideas. However, without arguments and facts it becomes an aimless campaign and a negation of oneself. Particularly if it does not offer any better solutions. It is obvious that such an alternative has not been presented to Macedonian society.

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Federal

Jovanovic Assesses 'International Position'

AU1710202394 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A session of the Council for International Cooperation of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] was held today. The participants in the session discussed the current international position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. The session was chaired by Borisav Jovic, SPS vice president and president of the Council for International Cooperation of the SPS's Main Committee. A number of prominent scientific workers, diplomats, experts for international relations, journalists, publicists, and members of the SPS leadership took part in the work of council.

In a very substantive introductory speech, Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said that Yugoslavia's international position is improving, and stressed that, recently, it had become clear that no progress was possible in the peace process without the FRY's participation in it and its treatment on an equal footing. Vladislav Jovanovic particularly stressed that Yugoslavia's integration into the international community is one of the key issues for us at present. The international community is becoming increasingly aware of Yugoslavia's exceptionally active and constructive contribution to the peace process, the federal foreign minister said.

At the same time, he expressed the hope that the sanctions would be eased further by the end of this year. He also stressed that Yugoslavia has already taken some diplomatic initiatives in that direction in the UN Security Council.

Commenting on the peace plan of the so-called Contact Group, Vladislav Jovanovic said that the leadership of the Muslims in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is the real opponent to peace. They said that they were only accepting the peace plan so that the Serbs could reject it. Therefore, it was not prudent to reject the plan, since the acceptance of the plan was in the interests of the Serbian people.

Vladislav Jovanovic concluded that certain international factors are again trying to impose the so-called global approach to the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, that is, they are trying to link the issue of the lifting of the sanctions to other problems, which has no legal basis in international documents.

A fair number of members of the Council for International Cooperation of the SPS' Main Committee took part in the substantive and well-argued debate that followed the speech by the Yugoslav foreign minister.

Minister, Russian Envoy Agree on Cooperation

LD1810132794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1241 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 19 [date as received] (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Russia Tuesday agreed to intensify cooperation in areas of culture, sports, and air transport, a Yugoslav Government statement said.

The statement said the decision was reached in talks between Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economics Nikola Sainovic and Russian Ambassador in Belgrade Gennadiy Shikin.

The intensification of the bilateral cooperation has been made possible by a partial suspension of the sanctions against Yugoslavia as of Oct. 5, under U.N. Security Council Resolution 943.

The statement said Sainovic and Shikin had agreed that it was necessary to make preparations for cooperation between the two countries once the economic sanctions against Yugoslavia were lifted.

Official Comments on 1994-95 Federal Budget

AU1810081294 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8-9 Oct 94 p 3

[Report by B. Jager: "Federal Budget Without a Change"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Jovan Zebic, a deputy federal prime minister, said in yesterday's news conference that he was convinced that the 1994 federal budget estimates would not be exceeded and that for the first time no budget busting would be required. He also pointed out that the federal government would require this from others too, in order to keep to the planned share of public spending in the social product of the country.

The federal government is trying to prove its stabilization practices with the information that the allowed quota of 335 million dinars, which the federal budget could have also taken through long-term loans from the central bank, has not been used. It has not made use of these loans since July, so that the total debt of the federal state amounted to 157.2 million dinars at the end of September, which amounts to approximately 13 percent of the budget.

All other assets came from real sources—1.176 million dinars, or 70.2 percent of the necessary amount. In other words 500 million dinars have to be collected by the end of the year in order to fulfill the expenditure plan of the federal state for this year.

This means that the federal budget should be filled from real sources with 167 million dinars per month, and it is assessed that this can be carried out. According to Zebic 165 million dinars were collected in September, and if this rhythm is kept up, by the end of the year there should be no problems with the federal budget.

Poor results have been achieved so far in selling of goods from federal commodity reserves, since it was expected that 167 million dinars would flow in 1994 into the federal budget from this source. Only 24 million dinars

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have arrived by now. Approximately $50 million earned by the Federal Air Traffic Control were invoiced but they have been withheld in various accounts abroad.

Large sums of money are expected from import duties, the sales tax and federal stamp duties, which should make up the above-mentioned deficit. The remark made by reporters that it was more and more difficult for the economy to provide hard currency for necessary imports did not make Zebic hesitate, either. He thinks that the federal budget will raise enough money from import duties in the coming months. Zebic said that people travelled and hopefully traded with goods, and only the tax collected on leaving the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia improved the federal budget by 73.2 million dinars.

As far as expenditures are concerned, everything is under control; 1.117 million dinars, or 66.7 percent of the allowed amount, were spent through the end of September. The Yugoslav Army received 885 million from that "pie." There are, of course, problems with spending and, according to Zebic, there will be problems with covering personal incomes, social benefits, pensions, payments for soldiers and disabled persons as well as the material expenses of federal institutions and maintenance of their buildings and facilities. The budget equilibrium will be maintained if the increase on one side is accompanied by a decrease in expenditures on the other side.

Zebic also promised that the federal government would present the proposal for the 1995 federal budget in December and added that it intended to do the same thing with other important documents on economic policy, too. The only thing known so far is the general tendency—the 1995 federal budget will not at all rely on deficit financing; it will be completely financed from real sources.

Sea Transport Links With Italy Restored

LD1710141694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1301 GMT 17 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bari, Oct. 17 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Sveti Stefan ferryboat arrived in the Italian port of Bari early on Monday having left its home port of Bar Sunday night.

The ship's first voyage marked the resumption of sea lines between the two southern Adriatic ports after two and a half years of total blockade against Yugoslavia.

The Jugooceanija company experts estimated that losses suffered by the Yugoslav shippers due to the sanctions against Yugoslavia amounted to at least 80 million dollars.

The United Nations Security Council on Sept. 24 adopted a resolution suspending the bans on international flights, sea transportation and participation in sports and cultural events.

The Yugoslav ferryboat with 345 passengers and 40 vehicles on board was given a warm welcome.

The officials and citizens of Bari and the Puglia province also welcomed a number of their fellow citizens who came back aboard the Sveti Stefan from their visit to the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro. They had participated at an international scientific meeting devoted to the protection of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean.

Serbia

Article Views New Radio Belgrade Director

95BA0003C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 94 p 25

[Article by Nenad Lj. Stefanovic: "Character and Deeds: Milivoje Pavlovic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **When He Turned Toward His "Lucky Star"**: 4 March 1947, in Medvedja.

Career: Graduate of the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University, worked as a journalist and then editor of the newspaper RAD. Later employed as deputy to the editor in chief of the NIRO [Newspaper Publishing Work Organization] Radnicka Stampa. Before he officially became a politician, he worked as secretary of the Cultural and Educational Community of Serbia. He was information minister of the Republic of Serbia under two prime ministers (Radoman Bozovic and Nikola Sainovic). He spent a few months as an "unassigned official," and then finally last week (after much guessing that he was slated to be an ambassador), he was appointed new director of Radio Belgrade by order of Milorad Vucelic, director of Radio-TV Serbia (who until recently was his subordinate).

His Other Activities: Before he became a politician, "writer" was listed after his name in books like *Who Is Who* in Serbia. He attracted attention exactly 20 years ago as the author of *White Book* (blank from cover to cover), which the malicious say has exceeded all the works of Andric in the number of editions and quotations. Later he really began to write and published *Knjiga o himni (Book About the Anthem)* (three editions), *Kultura od do (Culture From To)*, and *Kulturni frontovi i pozadina (The Culture Fronts and Rear)*. What will certainly immortalize him as a writer is the birthday card that he sent at one time to Radoman Bozovic, Serbian giant of business, ethics, and intellect. This birthday message to the then prime minster, which has been quoted many times, congratulates him on the day when he "took his first step toward his lucky star."

Awards and Decorations (1): He is the winner of the Svetozar Markovic Award of the Association of Serbia Journalists (1981) and the Gold Link of Belgrade (1989). If orders for heroes of this war are established one day, Pavlovic will certainly deserve the one awarded for "service to the people in spreading the truth" about

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Serbia. Even now he can be considered one of the fighters in the early going (it is true that he did not start it, but he led it devotedly) of the media war which was lost and in which vast expanses of stupidity, primitivism, and indifference to scenes of violence and death were opened up in Serbia under the aegis of the fight for national interests and under the cloak of patriotic rhetoric.

What He Is Known For: For never having missed a single occasion to make a fool of himself when he was a minister. Aside from his extreme servility in congratulating the birthday of the worst prime minister in Serbian history, he was a fool many other times: He said that the "balloon of lies had burst and the truth about Serbia had finally begun to leak out" at the moment when from the media standpoint Serbia was in its most desperate straits; he established the Council for Information and threatened to reveal "who is behind the free media," which (out of pure habit) he called a Fifth Column, and his clever associates found "unpatriotic genes" in the journalists of those papers; he personally invited, received, and recommended various beneficiaries of our troubles and professional "spreaders of the truth" about Serbia who in the end turned out to be a failed investment of his ministry; he financed and promoted the book *Recnik zabluda (Dictionary of Wrong Impressions)*, which was supposed to puncture that "balloon of lies" about Serbia, but was to have said of it by Dr. Mirjana Markovic that it would not refute the ugly picture of Serbia, "but on the contrary would contribute to it"; according to an American woman journalist from the magazine VANITY FAIR, he furnished inaccurate information about the length of time Slobodan Milosevic spent in the United States, and Pavlovic's ignorance about such essential matters is said to have brought a rather sour smile and sarcastic comment from his boss....

How He Was Escorted From His Ministerial Post: Rather pitifully. In his first address to parliament the new prime minister Mirko Marjanovic said that the previous concept of information had been completely wrong. "Information," he said, "deserves some of the credit for the sense that everyone in the world is against the Serbs and for that reason no one needs us. That impression is of course unfounded. It is not true that everyone is against the Serbs, just as it is not true that the Serbs can live like political, economic, and cultural Robinson Crusoes."

What Marjanovic Did Not Know: The concept of Pavlovic's information was indeed completely wrong, but it operated wonderfully. Vucela's television did not repeat a single word of that part of Marjanovic's address that had to do with the role of the media in developing Serbian autism.

Awards and Decorations (2): The appointment to the post of director of Radio Belgrade gives Milivoje Pavlovic another chance to become once again a "fighter in the early going" and to earn a few more medals. Most of the early fighters who until yesterday were persuading the people from various posts in Serbian journalism that "the whole world hates" us have gone full circle in the meantime. Now their task in their new posts is to return us to that world with the same enthusiasm and persuade us that autism is not the greatest Serbian virtue, that is, that only those disobedient Serbs across the Drina suffer from it.

Kosovo

Albanians Sentenced for Forming Military Units

LD1710161394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 17 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kosovoska Mitrovica, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—Sentences were passed in the Kosovoska Mitrovica district court today against eight Albanians who worked to set up paramilitary headquarters and units for the purpose of endangering the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

Avni Behrami (43) was sentenced to three years in prison. Ismet Velici (50) was sentenced to two years, Iljaz Gasi (43) to one and a half years, and Miljajim Berisa (35) to one year in prison. All were resident in Srbica. [passage omitted]

Those convicted created military headquarters and actively participated in them between 1992 and the beginning of this year in the area of the Glogovac and Srbica municipalities. Their aim was to threaten the constitutional setup of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] through the use of force and to separate from Yugoslavia the territory of Kosovo and Metohija and other regions settled by Albanians.

They planned to form a separate state or merge this territory with Albania, and they did all this on the orders of the so-called Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Kosovo, directly through their contact in this Ministry, Ram Maraj from Kosovo Polje, who is on the run.

The verdict says that they gathered important security information in the area of Srbica and Glogovac, monitored the movements and numerical strength of units of the Yugoslav Army and the police, listed vital facilities in the municipality, and formed headquarters and units.

They were also active in winning over others in order to include them in their activities, and all their information was sent to the convicted Maraj via Avni Behrami. [passage omitted]

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